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The Outlook

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Vol. 122 August 20, 1919 No. 16

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Do you know that—

a hot surface of this measured area wastes 127½ pounds of coal each year?

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If it is steam heat—

Size of steam pipe.	*The waste in dollars per year per linear foot of pipe, coal at $10.00 per ton, 1 lb. steam pressure—temperature of air around pipe 70° Fahrenheit.*
2"	$ .95
3"	1.40
4"	1.80
5"	2.20
6"	2.65

Read the remedy to the right.

If it is hot-air heat—

Size of hot-air pipe.	*The waste in dollars per year per linear foot of pipe, coal at $10.00 per ton. Air in pipe 150° Fahrenheit—air around pipe 70°.*
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9"	1.85
10"	2.10
12"	2.45

Read the remedy to the right.

If it is hot-water heat—

Size of hot-water pipe.	*The loss in dollars per year per linear foot of pipe, coal at $10.00 per ton. Water in pipe 180° Fahrenheit. Air around pipe 70° Fahrenheit.*
2"	$ .67
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4"	1.25
5"	1.55
6"	1.85

Read the remedy to the right.

EVERY hot surface radiates heat. If this heat goes where it is not required, it is wasted and so is the coal that was burned to produce it. Opposite are some actual figures on such wastes—based on average conditions in American homes like yours.

The Remedy

Insulation correctly designed, manufactured and applied will reduce heat loss from hot surfaces as much as 90%. Efficient insulation must be made of material that does not conduct heat and that combines with this property the necessary strength and durability.

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To aid you in buying, Asbestocel is shown here in two forms:

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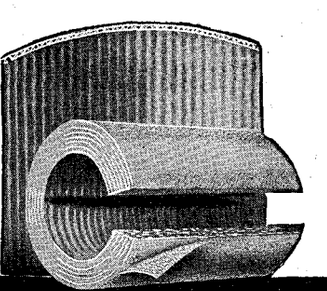
We recommend Asbestocel rather than air cell because of its construction, viz: the cells run around the pipe—not lengthwise, thus preventing circulation of air.



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The Outlook

AUGUST 20, 1919

LABOR TROUBLES

LABOR unrest is a marked feature of post-war conditions.

As an instance of the fever spreading over the whole country, we have but to note that in New York City the workmen in at least a dozen industries are on strike and that in many other industries strikes are threatened.

The most picturesque of these movements in the metropolis is the Actors' Strike. The actors demand two things: (1) proper payment for overtime, and (2) recognition of the Actors' Equity Association. As to overtime, on holiday afternoons everywhere and on Sunday evenings in certain cities there are extra performances in addition to the normal number. For each such performance the striking actors demand payment proportionate to their normal weekly pay (this is surely modest as contrasted with the railway workers' slogan, "Time and a half for overtime"). As to recognition, the managers are also obdurate; they refuse to accept any system of arbitration. If they persist in this attitude, managers may possibly find their former employees competing with them, associations of actors running their own theaters. Meanwhile, though the movement has temporarily closed certain theaters, some popular actors and actresses have strengthened their hold upon the public by appearing in the streets in the new rôle of wage-earners on strike. The movement is not without its elements of humor.

THE B. R. T. STRIKE

Theater-going is generally a luxury. But transportation is a necessity. Hence a much more serious strike affecting New York City has been that on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit system. It brought to mind the Brooklyn street-car strike of 1895, which was characterized by a period of lawlessness, violence, and bloodshed worse than any the recent strike has seen and which was not terminated until some seven thousand militiamen were called out. However, in this year's strike the city authorities did not do their whole duty; indeed, it was claimed that the strike would have ended quickly if employees who wanted to do a day's work and were loyal to the company had been protected by the police in sufficient force. The strike was called to obtain seventy-five cents an hour for carmen and proportionate increases for those in other departments, the reinstatement of employees discharged for union activities, and especially the recognition of the Amalgamated Association, a general association of all the electric street-car employees in the country. The Brooklyn Rapid Transit system has been in the hands of a receiver, namely, ex-Secretary of War Garrison, who was appointed by United States Judge Julius Mayer. Mr. Garrison declined to recognize the Amalgamated Association or to confer with a committee representing it, on the ground that it did not represent a majority of the employees of the Brooklyn company. Judge Mayer upheld Mr. Garrison in this attitude. On the sensible theory that, whether we like it or not, we should confer with, although we may not knuckle down to, those with whom we disagree, Public Service Commissioner Lewis Nixon by the following plan brought the strike leaders to the point where they called off the strike:

1. A count of the B. R. T. employees, in the classification affected by the strike, to ascertain whether fifty per cent belong to the Amalgamated Association, the result to form the basis of future dealings between Receiver Garrison and the employees.
2. Receiver Garrison to receive a committee of employees.
3. In case of failure of the Receiver and the committee to reach an agreement, a Board of Arbitration to be called into being.
4. All parties to abide by the Board's decision.

THE SHOPMEN'S STRIKE

Owing to its immense New York City suburban traffic from points in Connecticut and Westchester County, New York, the shopmen's strike on the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railway system for a wage increase has severely affected the metropolis. The long-distance passenger service has also been crippled, for the company has been compelled to suspend about a hundred and fifty trains and to discontinue parlor-car and dining-car services. Of course, as a result, the Sound steamers have been crowded to their chair capacity. In addition to curtailing passenger service freight shipments have also been affected, and many New England towns are said to be facing a food shortage. The only goods accepted for shipment have been perishable foodstuffs, milk, and ice.

In the Middle West the shopmen's strike, involving several hundred thousand men in its ultimate analysis, is in process of settlement. In many shops and yards foremen, yardmasters, and officials have "turned to," manning switch engines and attending to repair work. It will mean an expenditure of over two hundred million dollars to grant the shopmen's demand. Then there are the trackmen's demands, though fortunately no strike at present accentuates those demands any more than the demands of engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen, train crews, and clerks. The total sum involved in granting all these demands would exceed eight hundred million dollars.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE SHOPMEN

The reason why some shopmen have now returned to work is not difficult to discover. It is due to President Wilson. On August 17, in a letter from Mr. Wilson to Walker D. Hines, Director-General of Railroads, the President notes that the question of the wages of railway shopmen was submitted to the Wage Board last February, but was not reported upon until July 16, an unavoidable delay because the Board was continuously engaged in dealing with wage matters affecting classes of employees who had not previously received consideration. The Board having apprised the Director-General of its inability, at any rate for the time being, to agree upon a recommendation, the President authorized the Director-General to say to the shopmen that the question of wages would be taken up and considered in conference with the duly accredited representatives of those men, but—and this is a big but—any action which brings the authority of authorized representatives into question or discredits it must interfere with, if not prevent, action altogether. "The chief obstacle to a decision," justly declared Mr. Wilson, "has been created by the men themselves." He proceeded:

> They have gone out on strike and repudiated the authority of their officers at the very moment when they were urging action. . . . Various strikes actually took place before there was opportunity to act in a satisfactory or conclusive way with respect to the wages. In the presence of these strikes . . . there can be *no consideration* of the matter in controversy. Until the employees return to work . . . the whole matter must be at a standstill. . . . This is a time when every employee of the railways should help to make the processes of transportation more easy and economical rather than less, and employees who are on strike are deliberately delaying a settlement of their

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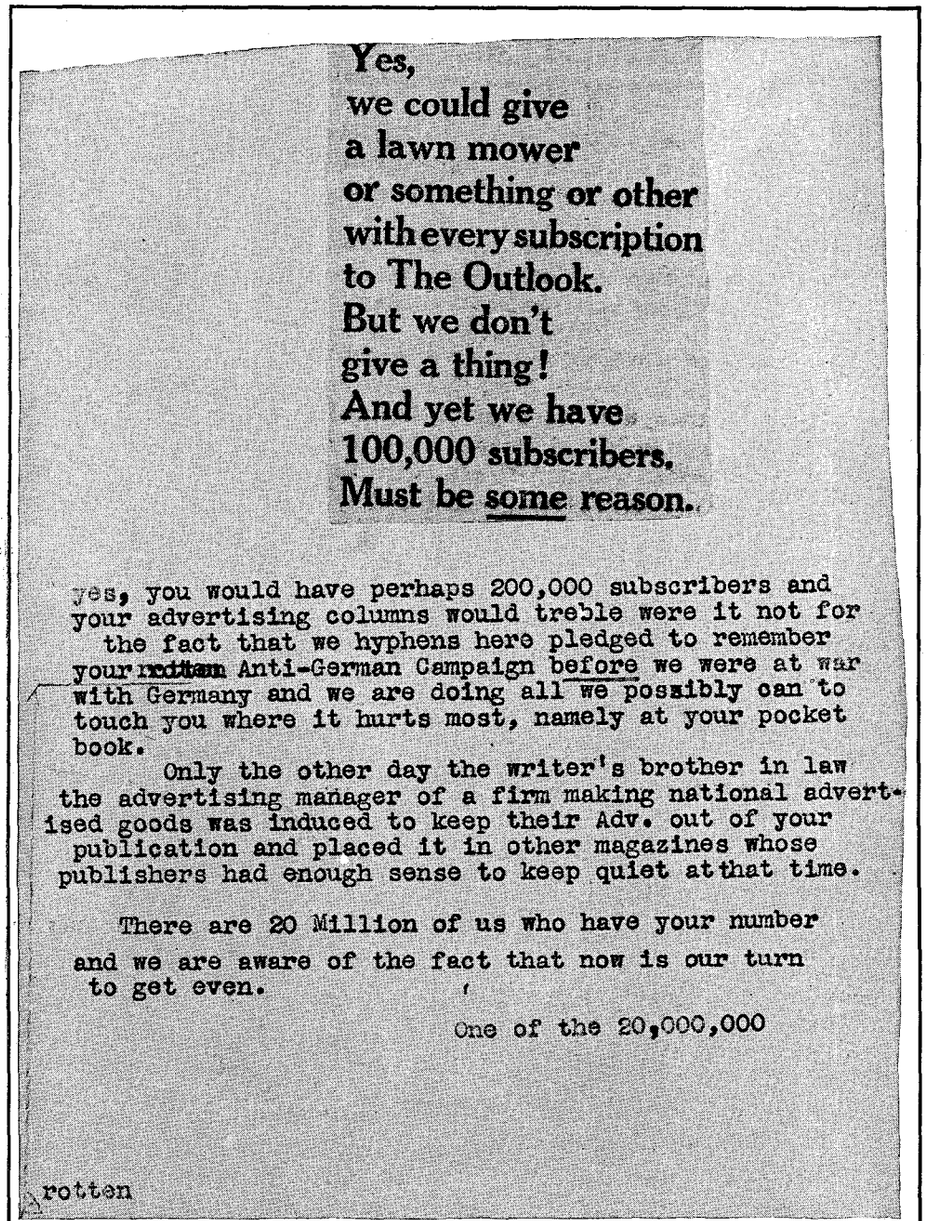

Yes,
we could give
a lawn mower
or something or other
with every subscription
to The Outlook.
But we don't
give a thing!
And yet we have
100,000 subscribers.
Must be some reason.

Yes, you would have perhaps 200,000 subscribers and your advertising columns would treble were it not for the fact that we hyphens here pledged to remember your ~~rotten~~ Anti-German Campaign before we were at war with Germany and we are doing all we possibly can to touch you where it hurts most, namely at your pocket book.

Only the other day the writer's brother in law the advertising manager of a firm making national advertised goods was induced to keep their Adv. out of your publication and placed it in other magazines whose publishers had enough sense to keep quiet at that time.

There are 20 Million of us who have your number and we are aware of the fact that now is our turn to get even.

One of the 20,000,000

rotten

The Outlook has received an anonymous letter, posted in Chicago, of which the above is a photographic reproduction. It is a reply to an Outlook advertisement published in a Chicago paper and cut out and pasted at the head of the letter by its pro-German author. This communication is a pleasant example of that German *Kultur* upon which we commented editorially last week. Ordinarily anonymous letters deserve only to be thrown in the waste-basket. But we print this one because it is so typical of German methods and the German spirit during the Great War—a spirit which still seems to be unchastened in many quarters

wage problems. . . . They should promptly return to work, and I hope you will urge upon their representatives the immediate necessity for their doing so.

Mr. Hines at once complied and urged equal compliance upon Mr. Jewell, Acting President of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor. Accordingly, on August 7 Mr. Jewell sent a message to the officers and members of all shopcraft affiliated with the Railway Employees Department of the Federation of Labor in which he asked them to return to their work, as requested by Mr. Wilson, adding these wise words: "Failure of the membership to comply with these instructions will, in our judgment, impair the usefulness of our organizations as well as have a detrimental effect upon the entire labor movement."

THE THIRTEEN ORIGINAL SUFFRAGE STATES

With the ratification of the National Suffrage Amendment by the Legislatures of Arkansas and Montana, the suffragists' list of the "thirteen original States" was completed. To the mystic thirteen Nebraska has now been added for good measure.

The thirteen States on the roll are Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, New York, Kansas, Ohio, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Texas, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, and Montana. Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan contended for leading in ratification, all of them ratifying immediately upon the passage of the Amendment by Congress. Wisconsin achieved this position through the initiative of the suffragists of the State in sending the certified statement of Wisconsin's ratification to Washington by a special messenger. In this way Wisconsin's ratification reached the State Department at Washington before that of any other State, and the State was thereupon given an official notice that it led the forty-eight States in ratification. Illinois was in point of time the first to ratify, but owing to an error in the text of the Amendment as received from the State Department at Washington her ratification was held invalid and a second vote had to be taken by the Legislature on the corrected text.

Of the States which have ratified, only four—Illinois, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania—did so at the regular session of the Legislature. Three States which have ratified—Michigan, Ohio, and Texas—did so at special sessions called for some other purpose than the consideration of suffrage. Five States—New York, Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas—ratified at sessions called especially for the suffrage ratification. One State, Montana, ratified at a special session called for the consideration of the Suffrage Amendment and the draft.

Since the Suffrage Amendment passed Congress there have been only six States whose Legislatures have met in regular session. All of these have acted on suffrage—favorably in the four cases already cited and unfavorably in the remaining two, Alabama and Georgia. Since the Amendment passed Congress there have been special sessions in nine States, some of which were called for suffrage and some for other purposes. Of these nine, all have acted favorably on the ratification.

While Democratic leaders have led the Republicans in the public profession of support of ratification, the only two States which have defeated ratification are solidly Democratic. Of the thirteen States which have ratified seven are preponderantly Republican, two are preponderantly Democratic, and four are divided between the two parties. As against the two solidly Democratic anti-suffrage States, Alabama and Georgia, which defeated ratification, the Republicans show two strongly Republican anti-suffrage States, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, which both ratified.

THE ARCHDUKE JOSEPH

If Italy ever becomes a Republic, King Victor Emmanuel's ambition is to be its first President. He likes to think of himself, not as King, but as the first citizen of the state.

In the same way, for many years the

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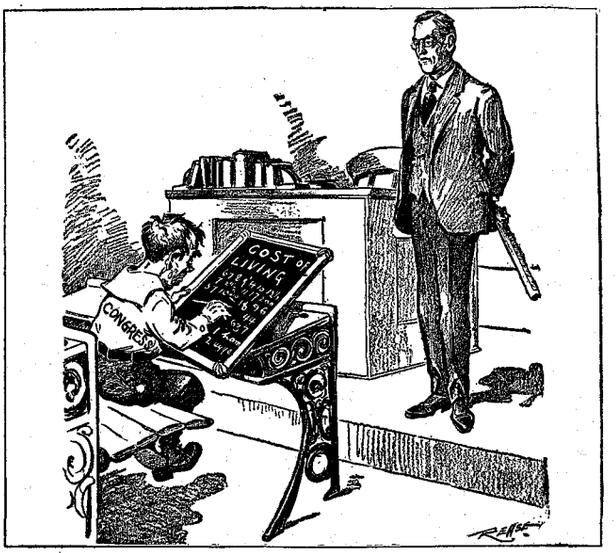
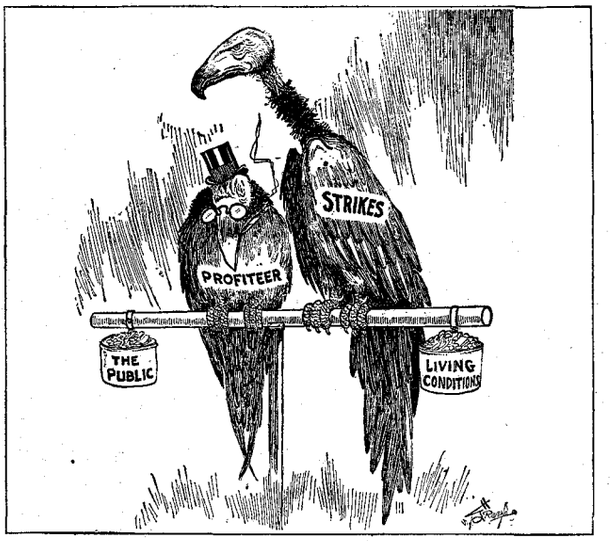
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Rehse in the New York World



KEEPING HIM AFTER SCHOOL

Greene in the New York Evening Telegram



BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Pease in the Newark Evening News

UNCLE SAM WILL FEEL SMALL IF HE HAS TO ASK THAT

Darling in the New York Tribune

UP! AND BE QUICK ABOUT IT
DOWN! IF YOU KNOW WHAT'S GOOD FOR YOU
THE WAGE SCALE
THE COST OF LIVING
CONGRESS
ANOTHER RAILROAD STRIKE

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ONE AT A TIME, PLEASE, GENTLEMEN

Clubb in the Rochester Herald

AFTER WAR COMES PEACE

Thomas in the Detroit News

THEY NEVER COME BACK

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people of Hungary have regarded the Archduke Joseph. He is quite the opposite of our idea of a Hapsburg. He is the one member of that family who has always been a Hungarian. He has spent his life in work among the poor and unfortunate and in strengthening the power of labor. He holds the titles of doctor of laws and doctor of technical sciences at the University of Budapest, and the title of doctor of medicine at the University of Kolozsvar. He is a Field Marshal in the army. In 1918 he headed a movement looking toward securing independence for Hungary from Austria, and on the collapse of the Dual Empire he and his son renounced all rights as members of the house of Hapsburg and took the oath to submit unconditionally to the orders of the Hungarian National Council.

At first the new Government was headed by Count Karolyi. Then, as in Russia, the Bolsheviki got control and maintained it until the present month. They were led by one Bela Kun. He promised land to the peasants, only to frustrate their hopes; he imposed a sort of State Socialism on the city workmen; he oppressed the propertied and the professional classes; he formed an army largely out of Marshal von Mackensen's left-over German troops, and proceeded to attack the Czechoslovaks and the Rumanians. Little by little the Hungarians made their two wants felt—(1) food; (2) a really representative government.

The Allied Supreme Council at Paris promised food and recognition if the Hungarians would oust Bela—indeed, they sent some food as an earnest of good faith. But all efforts to overcome the Bolsheviki were unavailing until the Rumanians marched into Hungary. Then Bela fled, taking an enormous sum of money with him.

HUNGARY AND RUMANIA

The Hungarians set up a Moderate Socialist Government, but it lasted only a few days; it was seen to be not strong enough, and was succeeded by the present Liberal Government with the Archduke Joseph as Chief of State. A constituent assembly is to be held to decide definitely Hungary's future. The elections to it are to be conducted on the system of universal suffrage; every man and woman over twenty-four years of age is to have a vote. The Supreme Council at Paris, it is understood, glad to see Hungary at last under a government willing to execute the terms of last November's armistice, is disposed to recognize the Archduke and to invite him to send delegates to Paris to conclude a treaty of similar nature to that now under way with Austria. It has been rumored that, because the new head of state at Budapest is a Hapsburger, Hungary will again become a monarchy, to be followed by Austria. Whether these countries have a republican or monarchical form of government is not in the Supreme Council's purview.

The Council, however, addressed a sharp protest to the Rumanians, who have now advanced to Budapest, inviting them to retire; otherwise the supply of food from the Entente would cease. It remains to be seen whether the Rumanians will pay any more attention to this than to the Council's previous order requesting them not to advance farther into Hungary than a certain distance from the capital. The only rejoinder has come from Nicholas Misu, the Rumanian delegate at Paris, who is reported as saying:

> We feel that we have done the Peace Conference and the entire world a service by giving the Hungarians an opportunity to set up a representative government. Furthermore, we were forced to march against Budapest in self-defense. Hungary attacked us and the Bolsheviki threatened to overwhelm us from two sides.

It is true that Rumania has thus been doing the world's work. Yet it would not be human nature for her to refrain from indemnifying herself in Hungary for the live stock and locomotives captured by the Hungarians in Rumania, or not to regard her capture of Budapest as an offset for the Hungarian capture of Bucharest. But Rumania's greater rôle just now lies in acting as a balance for Hungary. The Rumanians are the real masters of the situation.

ANDREW CARNEGIE: THE WEALTH-MAKER

"What Mecca is to the Mohammedans, that is Dunfermline to me," Andrew Carnegie was wont to say. He was born in that Scottish town in 1835, two years before Queen Victoria came to the throne. In Dunfermline the famous Malcolm, the greater Robert Bruce, and other Scottish kings are buried. In such a place Andrew became full of enthusiasm for his country's history and its national heroes, such as Bruce, Wallace, and Burns. But there he also began to long for a wider democracy than any in Scotland. To that democracy, America, he was, of course, to take a Scotch thrift. Every morning his Dunfermline school was opened by religious exercises, when each boy had to repeat a proverb from the Bible. When it came to Andrew's turn, this eight-year-old proclaimed: "Take care of your pence, the pounds will take care of themselves."

Dunfermline's main industry was weaving. Andrew's father was a master weaver and an employer of apprentices. But when the steam loom was introduced with the factory system of labor, the hand loom had to go and the Carnegie family too. Some of their relations were already prospering at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the family decided to follow their example. The Carnegies came to America on a sailing vessel—a seven weeks' voyage. Arriving at Pittsburgh, Mr. Carnegie obtained a position in a cotton factory, and the twelve-year-old Andrew began his business career then as a bobbin boy at $1.20 a week.

Andrew's next job was to fire the boiler and run the steam-engine of a small factory—a heavy task for a boy of thirteen.

At fourteen Andrew became a telegraph boy with a salary of three dollars a week. Then he was promoted to the position of operator. Fortunately, one of those who came to the office was the late Thomas A. Scott, then superintendent of the Pittsburgh Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad (a position Andrew Carnegie was later to occupy). When the Civil War broke out, Mr. Scott was made Assistant Secretary of War and gave young Carnegie an immensely extended field of service.

Mr. Carnegie's fortune may be said to be due to his foresight in recognizing what the future would bring—first, that the day of wooden railway bridges was over; he started the Keystone Bridge Works for the manufacture of iron bridges. Later he realized that iron would be displaced by steel in many directions, especially in rails. He erected a plant for the Bessemer process of steel manufacture. Then he saw that he must acquire vast tracts of new land containing mineral resources, and went 900 miles for it. He bought steamers to carry the ore across the Great Lakes and built his own railway to carry it thence to Pittsburgh. He was now indeed the "steel master."

THE POWER THAT COMES FROM KNOWING MEN

But in attaining that position he relied upon two other factors besides his foresight. One was his genius for organization; the other, his knowledge of human nature. The first quality was evident in the concerns he formed, which eventually became the chief factor in the United States Steel Corporation; the second is evident in his own words:

> I do not believe that any one man can make a success of a business nowadays. I am sure I never could have done so without my partners. I know that every one of them would have smiled at the idea of my being his superior, though the principal stockholder. The way they differed from me and beat me many a time was delightful to behold. I never enjoyed anything more than to get a sound thrashing in an argument at the hands of these young geniuses.

Such was the friendly, smiling, sprightly

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Andrew Carnegie we have known; of short white hair and beard; of shrewd, keen eyes; of alert bearing; of restless manner; of buoyant temperament, which, with his quick sense of humor, gave a youthful touch-and-go to his talk.

THE WEALTH-GIVER

"The day is not far distant," Mr. Carnegie once said, "when the man who dies leaving behind him millions of available wealth which was free for him to administer during life will pass away unwept, unhonored, and unsung." So he began to give away money. Before his death he gave away over $350,000,000, though his fortune at the time of his death was still huge.

His first benefactions took the form of Public Library Buildings. The thought of devoting his money to this purpose was suggested by his boyhood acquaintance with Colonel Anderson, of Pittsburgh, who had the praiseworthy habit of lending any of his four hundred books on Saturday afternoons. Young Andrew eagerly looked forward to these afternoons. He resolved then that if he ever became rich he would found free libraries. The results derived from the expenditure of the $70,000,000 he gave would doubtless have been greater had the donation been made more definitely in accord with the spirit of Colonel Anderson's practice.

Then came the famous "Foundations;" the Pittsburgh Carnegie Institute; the Carnegie Institution, with its seat at Washington; the Hero Fund; the Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; the Endowment for International Peace; and, finally, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which was to act as a trustee for all future gifts.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Carnegie never contributed to the support of a church; he did, however, establish the so-called Church Peace Union, and gave generously towards the purchase of church organs. He would say of them:

> I am a devoted lover of music. I give organs to churches because I am willing to be responsible for everything the organs say, but I could not be responsible for all that is said from the pulpit.

No matter how much people may criticise Mr. Carnegie's personal idiosyncrasies or his political and social theories, one thing is certain—the world gained much because he lived in it as a maker and as a distributer of wealth.

J. EDWARD ADDICKS

There died in New York on August 7 in obscurity and poverty a man who fifteen years ago was a notorious National figure—J. Edward Addicks. Having made very large sums of money out of the manipulation of the stocks and property of gas companies in various parts of the country, he essayed to buy his way into the United States Senate through the State of Delaware. His attempt was as brazen and sordid a piece of political corruption as had ever been tried in this country. Indeed, it was so flagrant that The Outlook undertook to arouse a National protest against it. In 1903 The Outlook commissioned George Kennan, who had been the staff correspondent of The Outlook in many important undertakings, to go to Delaware, make a careful study of the situation, and a frank and fearless exposé of the Addicks case. This, with his characteristic and painstaking accuracy, Mr. Kennan did. He collected indisputable evidence and arranged and indexed it with the greatest care, so that if any member of the Addicks ring should sue The Outlook for libel we should have a clear-cut defense.

Mr. Kennan's story was told in three articles published in The Outlook in February, 1903. They not only aroused the attention of the country, but the vindictive ire of Addicks and his gang, so that Mr. Kennan was warned that he was in danger of personal violence if he even passed through Wilmington on the train in going from New York to Washington. Addicks did not succeed in buying a Senatorial seat, although he spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in his attempt, and we are proud to say that the investigations of Mr. Kennan and his articles in The Outlook were generally considered to be the most important factor in his defeat. In entering this fight against Addicks The Outlook said editorially:

> We have done what we could by these articles to aid the small and heroic band who in Delaware are fighting a National battle against wholesale, flagrant, and scarcely concealed corruption. It is in vain for the politician or the editor to shrug his shoulders and say, It is incredible that the whole community should be bought. The answer is, The incredible is true.

As we look back to this degraded episode in American politics, it is a matter of satisfaction to know that, with the cooperation of The Outlook, George Kennan was able to deal the kind of a blow in defense of American political freedom that some years before he dealt, by his articles in the "Century Magazine," on the Siberian exile system, in behalf of Russian freedom.

THE FAMILY BUDGET AND WOMEN'S PAY

Organized-trade women at Washington have inaugurated a campaign for a new family budget to be considered by the Congressional Reclassification Commission now engaged in fixing the amount of compensation to be paid Government employees. The labor women seek to have the hitherto typical family budget of the husband, wife, and three children matched by the 1919 budget of the workingwoman, her adult dependents, and her children, that the woman in industry may be given the same minimum living-wage basis as the man engaged in gainful pursuits.

The women interested in the Reclassification Commission's operations are fearful that an effort will be made to allow men higher salaries, on the assumption that they have dependents to support. The Washington branch of the National Women's Trade Union League has made its first move to forestall this idea by holding meetings with the women of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, where Uncle Sam's paper money is made. This place was chosen because here there are four thousand women employed, seventy per cent of whom have dependents ranging in number from one to seven persons, say the organized-trade women. These women have been urged by the organization to prepare data about their living costs for presentation to the Reclassification Commission to show that their expenses are as heavy as that of the average man.

One of the arguments to be used in the campaign to get a typical woman-in-industry budget recognized is that the woman's dependents are usually adult persons, and therefore more expensive than minor children. Parents, crippled brothers, or invalid sisters, declare the League, are common dependents upon the wages of the woman worker. They are also contending that the notion about women entering industry to earn "pin money" is done away with completely in these days, and they are making a strenuous effort to prove with statistics from many of the Government departments that this can be borne out by figures.

STRIKES

THE fact that the whole civilized world is now earnestly bent upon the construction of some plan to do away with political wars, while only a few far-seeing leaders appear deeply to realize that the English-speaking world is living in a continuous state of costly and dangerous labor warfare, is an illustration of the curious and inconsequential way in which the most intelligent people sometimes carry on the processes which they call thinking.

Since about the year 1800, when the factory system may be said to have begun in England, there has not been a single year in which men, women, and children

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have not been killed, thousands upon thousands of dollars' worth of property destroyed, and millions more lost in enforced idleness and the interruption of productive activities as a result of strikes and lockouts.

The Encyclopædia Britannica defines a strike as "a stoppage of work by common agreement on the part of a body of work people for the purpose of obtaining or resisting a change in the conditions of employment." If this definition actually described a strike, nobody could object. But we venture the assertion that there has never been a strike, at least in the factory system, which was not accompanied by violence on the part of the employees and a fighting spirit on the part of the employers. This is warfare pure and simple. Is it not time for men to get together and ask themselves, Must tribal warfare go on forever in industry?

A newspaper article must necessarily be too brief for even a superficial survey of the development of the factory system with its trade unions on the one hand and its great impersonal corporations on the other. We must therefore content ourselves with pointing out that the responsibility for the present widespread and continuous industrial warfare does not attach to either of the belligerents exclusively, and with stating some of the directions in which Americans may hope to seek for a remedy for a condition that is growing as intolerable in social life as Kaiserism finally proved to be in political relations.

The principal belligerents are the trade unions and the corporations. The latter were the first to be organized and originally exercised almost autocratic power, which caused the workmen to form the trade unions for self-protection and self-defense. In the year 1800 in Great Britain it was a criminal act for workmen even to meet in an attempt to improve their wages and conditions of labor. For more than fifty years the employing class in Great Britain were able through their legislative power to attach to the trade unions the taint, if not of criminality, at least of lawlessness. There is scarcely an employer of labor in the English-speaking world to-day who does not regard such an attitude as unreasonable and unjust. But the workmen felt this injustice long before the employer came to see it, and, burning under a sense of injustice, they indulged in all sorts of criminal acts of retaliation. The situation in England fifty years ago is dramatically described in one of the most exciting of Charles Reade's novels, "Put Yourself in His Place." Although that novel was published half a century ago, some of the scenes and the actual spirit which it portrays were repeated a week ago in the Brooklyn Rapid Transit strike, of which we give some account in another place in this issue. Unless we are to go on at the same slow rate of progress in the future that is recorded by the statistics and history of the last fifty years, both workmen and employers must get certain ideas more clearly defined in their own minds than seems to be the case at present. Among these ideas we should give a prominent place to the following:

Violence. Arson, murder, and wanton destruction of property are as much out of place in an industrial conflict as they were in Belgium during the world war. They must be suppressed with unswerving determination and unfaltering hand. The employing class, which formerly did use vicarious violence by hiring thugs and ruffians armed with rifles as strike-breakers, have been the first to give up their practice and now almost universally appeal to the recognized and lawful machinery for maintaining order and justice. The workmen must do the same. The first thing necessary is the suppression of violence.

Collective Bargaining. Under the present industrial system experience and history have conclusively shown that workmen cannot get their individual rights unless they take collective action in making their demands. Collective bargaining has therefore come into our industrial system by the natural process of evolution and must be accepted as a fact by employers. Indeed, most modern intelligent employers working upon a large scale prefer collective bargaining.

Trade Unions. It ought to be as plain as A B C that we cannot have collective bargaining without labor organizations. Labor organizations enable employers to deal with great bodies of men through representatives of the men's own choice. It is physically impossible for the president of a great railway to see every engineer on his road, but he can talk to each engineer through the representative that the engineers elect. This fact has been generally recognized by American employers, but there are still some who appear to make a distinction between labor organizations and trade unions. For example, Mr. Garrison, receiver of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, says that he is perfectly willing to confer with the organization of his own employees, but is not willing to confer with the organization of the trade to which his employees belong. We think that his view is an archaic one and is not sustained by the history of organized industry. Capital is organized on the broadest possible foundation. We have Bankers' Associations, Manufacturers' Associations, Periodical Publishers' Associations, Bar Associations, Medical Associations, Associations of Railway Presidents, Associations of Life Insurance Presidents, etc. Is there any logical or social reason why we should not have an amalgamated association of trolley-car conductors and motormen?

Nor is this all. The principle of amalgamation has been recognized and has worked successfully in many trades. The compositors of The Outlook are members of the Typographical Union. They are associated with the compositors of newspapers and periodicals in all parts of the country for protection and improvement. When The Outlook has a conference with the representative of the Typographical Union, it confers with the representative of employees of other corporations and other firms, and it is only fair to say that the Typographical Union has greatly improved the conditions and personnel in the printing trade and that most employing printers would regret to see it disintegrated.

To prefer to fight and to refuse to confer, in an endeavor to maintain a distinction between local organizations of labor and a general trade union, is not only to be behind the times, but is attempting the impossible. The line between local and general unions is an imaginary one. To try to maintain its existence is about as sensible as it would be to attempt to prove the visibility of the equator.

High Cost of Living. One of the greatest factors in the high cost of living is to be found in the waste, idleness, and destruction of property resulting from labor strikes and lockouts and the ensuing general unrest in industry. While the attempt of the Government to regulate prices and prevent profiteering is laudable in spirit, what these methods can accomplish is a mere bagatelle. The Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, Mr. W. P. G. Harding, rightly says:

> The remedy for the present situation is to work and to save; work regularly and efficiently, in order to produce and distribute the largest possible volume of commodities, and to exercise economies in order that money, goods, and services may be devoted primarily to the liquidation of debt and to the satisfaction of the demand for necessities, rather than to indulgence in extravagance for the gratification of a desire for luxuries.

The high cost of living to the wage-worker, the employer, and the public has been made definitely higher by the strikes in Brooklyn and among the railway shopmen throughout the country. If the human energy expended in these strikes could have been devoted with the same enthusiasm to the production and transportation of necessary commodities, the gain, if stated in figures, would be startling in its magnitude.

A Voice in the Management. Finally,

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the employers of the country must recognize and endeavor to meet what is really the fundamental demand of labor. The workman, it is true, wants as high a wage as he can possibly be paid. He wants that share in the profits which he thinks justly belongs to him. But that is not all. He wants to have some kind of a voice in determining the conditions under which he shall work. We believe that the American and Americanized workmen of this country are intelligent enough to be reasonable in their financial demands when they are told frankly and fully about the financial condition of the firm or corporation for which they work. But they will not be content with juggled or complicated reports. They want their own representatives on boards of management, and unless our entire industrial system is changed from top to bottom this demand will have to be recognized freely and cheerfully granted. How to do it is not so simple as to state it. Some way, however, must be worked out by which, first in our great public utilities and then perhaps in our private industries, the wage-worker may have something to say, through representatives in whom he has confidence, about the conditions and the product of his labor. Otherwise he is going to fight for all he can get, and perhaps even ultimately for all the present owners possess.

Just before the outbreak of the European war Sir Edward Grey, now Viscount Grey, telegraphed the Kaiser imploring him to sit down at the conference table and discuss the Serbian assassination, its consequences and penalties, in the hope that a general war might be averted. The Kaiser replied that it would be beneath the dignity of his ally Austria to do so, and chose war. The awful result of this decision the world now knows. In the present industrial crisis shall we pursue the conference and conciliatory method of Sir Edward Grey or the combative and haughty method of the Kaiser?

THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE SCHOOL

IN this week's issue The Outlook publishes an article by Mr. Leavell upon the Douglass High School, in Cincinnati. Mr. Leavell comes from the South. The Douglass High School is in a Northern State. His article, therefore, is National in outlook, just as the problem with which he deals—the problem of Negro education—is National. Until we stop considering that the Negro problem is a sectional problem and face the fact that it belongs almost as peculiarly to the North as to the South it will remain insoluble.

It is interesting and instructive to compare the conclusions reached by Mr. Leavell with those of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, one of the most active organizations in the country looking towards the improvement of conditions among our Negro citizens. In its last annual report the Association referred to says:

> There are many branches that find they must be on the alert to prevent some form of segregation in the public schools. This reached even as far as north of Hartford, Connecticut, where the branch came into existence in a spirited and successful protest against the placing of colored children recently arrived from the South in classes by themselves. The same is true of Moline, Illinois. Ypsilanti, Michigan, wakes up to find that it has a separate school, forms a branch, and has an injunction issued to see that the school is closed.

Mr. Leavell believes that it has been demonstrated clearly that Negro children are happier and receive a better education when they are placed in schools devoted to their race. The N. A. A. C. P. regards this segregation as a violation of the fundamental rights of Negroes. The Outlook believes with Mr. Leavell that the real problem is not one of segregation but of the standard of education. Give the Negro child the privilege of attending such a school as the Douglass High School of Cincinnati, and the problem of segregation will solve itself. A separate school for Negroes offers an opportunity for self-development both for Negro teachers and Negro pupils which will be lost if friends of the Negro successfully insist upon the abolition of all educational segregation.

RADICALISM IN THE MAKING

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK FROM FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

Senator Davenport, as our readers know, is both Professor of Government at Hamilton College and a member of the upper house of the New York Legislature. This article is the result of a recent trip through the Northwest.—THE EDITORS.

THE trial of Farmer Townley last month in Jackson, Minnesota, brings forcibly to the mind of the country the persistence of extreme political and social radicalism among the prosperous and property-owning farmers of the Northwest. What was three years ago believed to be a passing rural phenomenon is revealed as still vital and probably increasingly powerful. I am not one of those who believe that the recent small popular majorities in North Dakota for the dubious measure of State Socialism indicate the "slipping" from power of the leaders of agrarian radicalism in the Northwest. Certain of these measures, like the bill for a "kept" press through a chain of officially subsidized Government newspapers, were so vicious that the Non-Partisan League leaders themselves fairly split over them, and the wonder is that the majorities for these measures were as great as they were. The vote, to my mind, reveals little of the power of the still existing violent antagonism of the Northwest to the forces of trade and commerce which have long been regarded by the rural population as arrayed against them in the political and economic realm. Considering the Northwest as a whole—the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, Idaho, Montana, and Washington—I would say that the movement towards agrarian radicalism is still growing.

The Townley trial is a typical episode. Townley has a genius for the organization of the agricultural population against those whom the farmer of the Northwest believes to be his desperate and united foes in the railway, trading, and financial centers of that section of the country. Nobody doubts the sincerity of this farmer movement, whatever any one may think of the policies proposed or the inherent demagogy of Townley himself. About the latter point there is a serious difference of opinion in the Northwest. Townley's recent trial on the charge of being a party to a conspiracy to make the draft difficult early in the war is more likely to make a martyr of him than to check any demagogy or menace which there may be about him. At least I formed this judgment from a discussion of the case on the ground in Minnesota with those who are his enemies.

The apparently impartial men whom I met regard Townley as having been strongly in opposition to the war in the early stages, and even for a brief period after our entrance into it. They regard him as a man so embittered against capitalistic control of Government that his ideas were twisted about the cause of the great conflict. To him it was a rich man's war, subject to the rich man's manipulation, as North Dakota so long had been. This view was also the line of least resistance for his own movement through the undoubtedly strong pacifist sentiment of the Northwest at this early period. It made it easy going for his movement in the Scandinavian and German counties of North Dakota. But after the first loan, and after Townley had been invited to Washington and had been

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taken into conference with the Secretary of War and the President, he seems to have supported the country and the cause of the Allies. Certainly he supported the second loan, and thenceforward.

The effect of the conviction of Townley is already giving grave concern to those in the Northwest who believe in an orderly evolution out of our National troubles. The alleged atmosphere of prejudice in the county selected for the trial of the case; the earlier avowed hostility of the presiding judge to the leaders of the Non-Partisan farmers; the psychology of the jury, chosen from a venire of 144 men, who were previously picked from among the voters by the political county commissioners, every man on the panel being openly charged by the defense with an acknowledged bias against the farmers' movement; the accusation of conspiracy to obstruct the draft made, not by the United States Government, whose representatives had previously given the leaders a clean bill of health, but eight months after the armistice by the State of Minnesota, whose officers had recently fought a desperate political campaign with the Non-Partisan League; the refusal of the Court to admit much evidence of the support of the President and the war by the League as irrelevant to the particular case; the denying to Townley of his dramatic request to dismiss his lawyers and make his own plea to the jury—whatever may have been the right of it in any one of the particular items of this arraignment, taken together they have produced an unhappy and disquieting effect upon the mind of the Northwest. This is the martyrdom for which Townley was looking, say even his enemies in secret chagrin.

The impartial and conservative men with whom I talked were free to admit that the trial may turn out to be the latest chapter in the volume of vested stupidity. This modern flame of agrarian radicalism in North Dakota, which has now spread to a number of near-by States, has been fed from the beginning by the obtuseness of apprehension of men in the seats of the political and economic mighty. North Dakota was once controlled like a conquered province by the Northern Pacific Railroad. The State suffered long and severely at the hands of the railway, the grain, and the banking powers of the Northwest. The freight rates were unfair; there were evils in the marketing of grain, most of which are now corrected, but they long heightened the unrest. Interest rates were too high. These I remember to have heard described in the practical language of a Grand Forks banker: "The poor devil of a farmer used to come in to borrow $75 for his seed in the springtime, and he was asked in some places to sign a note for $90 and pay 15 per cent interest!" Suddenly the people of North Dakota woke up to the fact that their Legislature seemed in no way to represent their will. They would vote in referendums for projects which they wished to try, but the Legislature would not even pass an enabling act. Some hidden force of prevention was stronger than they were. If it was not raw bribery, it was astute lobbying; and when they saw it, then came the deluge. From that ancient extreme of protecting property by stupidity, the pendulum has swung to radicalism. And that is the story of North Dakota.

In my trip through the Northwest this summer I was impressed by nothing more than by the obvious undermining of the conservative and level-headed traits of the property-owning farmers by their mad indignation against those whom they regard as having long posed as the political and economic betters of that section of the country. And the farmers are now being joined by other radical elements. In the State of Washington the triple alliance of the Non-Partisan League of agriculturists, the strong I. W. W. sympathetic group of the cities, and the radical organized railway element together constitute a formidable opposition to the natural conservative liberalism of a democratic population. In the State of Minnesota the political situation, to my mind, is far worse. Minnesota has long been a great liberal-thinking State, with excellent influence upon surrounding commonwealths. It has been predominantly Republican in years gone by, indicating its trend towards progress by going strongly for Roosevelt in 1912. Hughes carried it by only 379 in 1916. The virus against Republican reaction had sunk deep into the population. Since 1916 matters have gone from bad to worse, from a Republican standpoint. In last year's gubernatorial election the Non-Partisan League candidate for Governor polled 150,000 votes, against the winning Republican candidate's 200,000. The Governor, Burnquist, proved himself during the war upstandingly American, but his administration has come into violent opposition with organized labor, from the ore mines in the north to the great cities in the south. It seems to be due to a complete misunderstanding and misapprehension of the drift of the genuine labor movement in the State. But the result of it is that the Minnesota State Federation met the other day at New Ulm and laid plans for the organization of a State-wide Labor party to join forces with the Non-Partisan League of farmers. And the platform is a radical programme of public ownership and operation of railways, steamships, banks, stockyards, packing plants, and grain elevators. Organized labor, which generally in the country is stemming the tide against radicalism, in Minnesota is leagued with it. At the by-election for Congressman on July 1 of this year in the city of St. Paul the Democratic candidate, who ran in the name of President Wilson and on a purely Wilson platform, received only 6,000 votes. The regular Republican candidate received 9,000, while the Independent Republican Labor candidate received 11,000 and won. The people of this district of St. Paul evidently had no wish to support the Democratic party under Wilsonian leadership, but they gave every evidence of a radical Republican majority. St. Paul and Minneapolis are two radical cities, Minneapolis having recently had a Socialist Mayor, who was defeated at the last election only by the combination of the Democrats and Republicans in that municipality.

Here again is political material for a triple alliance which demands the wisest opposition on the part of the forces of conservative liberalism. But the Republican leadership of Minnesota seems at present to be totally unequal to the task. The same obtuseness of apprehension which brought on the farmer revolution in North Dakota seems to hang like a smoke cloud over Republicanism in Minnesota. Instead of an open admission of the wrongs which have existed and now exist, instead of a wise constructive programme of advance, the great manufacturing and commercial groups of the State seem to be stupefying Republican leadership into a condition of reaction, using in the Legislature the same disingenuous methods as those which I described a few weeks ago for The Outlook with respect to the conditions of politics in the State of New York.

There is a widespread opinion that the conditions in the country call for the leadership in Washington of a party of conservative liberalism. Certainly the conditions in the Northwest call for such leadership. But certainly the Republicans will not be able to furnish it if the party continues to follow the path of stupidity which has bred so much of our National radicalism of recent years. I was impressed in the Northwest by the fact that great numbers of the people seemed not to be trustful of either of the great parties. There is radicalism enough in embryo in that section of the country to make or break either party at the next Presidential election. There is a great body of opinion there which can easily go either way, and as it goes so may go the Nation. All the more obtuse, then, seems to me the view which I find among some of the Republican politicians who think the great thoughts in the East, that everything is to fall into the Republican lap, anyway; that there is no use in trying to make the country pro-Republican, it is sufficient to let it run in its present anti-Democratic channel. Let us drift into power, say these Republican sages of the political Sanhedrin. Somebody ought to impress upon these gentlemen that as long as the West is what it is, as long as growing radical thought in the Nation exists as it does exist, obtuse Republican leadership has no cinch, and in the method of drift there is no certainty. One of the chief impressions I received from a recent trip across the continent is that radicalism is growing in the country by what it feeds on, namely, the stupidity of the mere property politicians; and that, to meet the rash political ventures which are being proposed, there is need of a party of constructive liberalism, of an open and sincere mind, to curb National evils and avoid the rashness of radicalism.

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SHANTUNG

SHOULD THE PEACE TREATY HAVE GIVEN JAPAN A FOOTHOLD THERE?

A DISCUSSION PRO AND CON

BY EVERETT P. WHEELER AND ELIZABETH WASHBURN WRIGHT

One of the objections urged against the Peace Treaty is that it violates both the common laws of human equity and the principles upon which the League of Nations is supposed to be founded when it gives to Japan the large and valuable Chinese territory of Shantung. Nevertheless there are liberals who believe that the solution proposed by the Peace Treaty is the only workable and just one. These two views are presented in the following articles. Mrs. Wright, whose husband, the late Dr. Hamilton Wright, was the American Government's representative at the Anti-Opium International Conferences at Shanghai and The Hague, has had long experience in the Far East, having lived in China, Japan, and the Straits Settlements for several years. Mr. Wheeler is a well-known member of the New York bar, who has devoted special attention to questions of constitutional and international law. Associated during his entire active life with many political and social reforms, all his inclinations are towards the establishment of international relations upon a moral basis.—THE EDITORS.

I—THE INJUSTICE TO CHINA

BY ELIZABETH WASHBURN WRIGHT

THE story of Shantung is very simple. In 1897, Germany, having decided that she would colonially expand in the Far East, decided upon Shantung as the seat of her activities. This was because of its situation, its minerals and raw materials, its excellent harbors, its soil and climate and industrious people. A scouting expedition was despatched along the Chinese coast to select a suitable harbor and naval base. The commission sent for this purpose had just recommended the Bay of Kiaochau when a quarrel took place in the interior of Shantung between some natives and two German missionaries. The latter were killed. Whose the fault was never was known, but the occurrence was opportune and gave the German Government the pretext it had long been looking for. Its warships at once landed troops on the coast of Kiaochau Bay and announced their occupation of the territory.

China was powerless to protest, and without more ado a treaty was drawn up by which China was to lease to Germany for ninety-nine years the harbor of Kiaochau and certain adjacent territories. There were other demands, all of which China was obliged to grant. The treaty signed, Germany forthwith prepared to intrench herself in this northeastern and valuable corner of China. She succeeded admirably in her venture and built up a model city on the lines of a German municipality. Her powers of organization and efficiency were never better demonstrated than in this distant corner of Asia. As a matter of fact, this was to be the nucleus about which her far-reaching Asiatic ambitions were to center. Still further privileges and concessions were wrung from China, and private German corporations received valuable mining and railway concessions. The railway grants were of special significance, as these potential lines were practically to cut the north from the south, and so dominate the political situation. Incidentally, the Bay of Kiaochau, which is one of the chief outlets for the products of North China, affords also the shortest approach to Peking from the sea. In fact, it would have been difficult anywhere in China to have seized upon a more vital or strategic point—which in the hands of an enemy would prove of incalculable value.

China was unreconciled but powerless, and watched this rapid evolution of a German colony with a great deal of uneasiness. Still Germany was far distant. This fact China repeated to herself many times in her moments of apprehension and dissatisfaction. And the development of Shantung went on apace.

There are other facts about Shantung worth mentioning. Confucius, the great Chinese sage, was born in a little village in the heart of this province. The town of Chufu has been for generations the Mecca to which hundreds of thousands of Chinese pilgrims have journeyed yearly. It is the shrine of their faith, something to be set apart. The soil is sacred soil. The thoughts and inspiration which emanate from this spot are essentially intimate and Chinese—to be protected from the sacrilege of alien intrusion. The very heart of China beats here. It is dangerous always to tamper with the beliefs of a people, to intrude upon their holy places. And Shantung and its sacred shrine have been under the shadow of German domination. A very bad thing, tempered only by the consciousness that Germany herself lay thousands of miles distant.

No people in China are more intensely Chinese than the people of Shantung—perhaps because of their nearness to the front and beginning of things. In any event, there are no people in the whole country more proud or sensitive, more industrious and law-abiding, than these natives of Shantung. This province contributed to the war thousands of coolies, who took the long journey to France and whose business it was to sweep up and keep clean and do the heavy drudgery of the war. Shantung contributed her bit in no small degree.

Now these excellent people of China (38,000,000 of them, as many as the entire population of France) against their will and in great bitterness of spirit are to be handed over to the keeping of an alien people—to the Japanese—whom the Chinese, anyway, consider to be their enemy. The Powers in Paris, undoubtedly sincere and working for peace, have committed an extraordinary act in thus placing in the hands of the Power which China most fears the virtual key to her citadel. There have been many explanations and excuses and ambiguities expressed on the subject, but the facts make easy reading.

Two weeks after the outbreak of the war Japan demanded the immediate withdrawal of German men-of-war from Chinese and Japanese waters and the delivery at a certain date of the entire leased territory of Kiaochau to the Japanese authorities, with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China. This was categorically stated. China intimated her desire to join with Japan in the expulsion of Germany from her territory, but was discouraged by Japan from doing so. In November, 1914, the British and Japanese troops together forced the Germans to surrender the city of Tsingtao.

After this accomplishment Japan sent for further reinforcements and prepared to establish herself in a state of quasi-occupation. China protested and begged that the troops be removed, as their task had already been accomplished. Letters passed between the Chinese and Japanese Foreign Offices, but Japan and her troops remained on Chinese soil.

In 1915 Japan suddenly presented to China a convention composed of twenty-one points by which China was to virtually yield her independence to Japan. China vehemently protested, but the world was at war and China in no position to fight Japan, and under duress yielded rights which she bitterly resented.

Upon America's declaration of war against Germany in 1917, China, wishing to identify herself more closely with the policies of the United States, likewise declared war, notifying Germany that the treaty and grants forced from her in 1898 were abrogated, and must therefore automatically revert to China. To this declaration the Powers made no objection.

Ten days after China had thrown in her lot with the Allies to fight Germany Japan and Great Britain came to a secret understanding by which Japan was guaranteed that her claims in Shantung were to be upheld at the conclusion

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of the war. Of this arrangement China of course knew nothing.

The war is over, and the Powers, sitting in conference, have agreed that this secret understanding is to be recognized and that Japan is to have as reward for her services the rights and privileges previously held by Germany in the province of Shantung. China declares emphatically that Japan has no right to these privileges, and further that the Powers have no authority to bestow them; that there was no question of any Power inheriting the grants forced from China by Germany, which Japan herself stated must eventually be returned to China. Also China insists that the railway concessions which the Powers would now transfer to Japan were not in the nature of Government transactions, but were entered into as individual enterprises—obligations which hitherto international law has invariably protected.

The Chinese authorities furthermore assert that Japan is not qualified to take into her keeping the destinies of millions of people who bitterly—and, they say, with reason—oppose her guardianship. They state that the province of Shantung with its enormous population is to be abandoned to a people who have sinister designs upon its welfare. They declare that during the period of the war Japanese traders, with or without the sanction of their Government, have flooded China with morphine to an enormous profit to themselves. This despite the fact that Japan was a signatory to the International Opium Convention drawn up at The Hague in 1912, by which the Powers of the world agreed to assist China in her fight against the opium curse and therefore to restrain the trade in drugs detrimental to the Chinese people.

Chinese statistics now go to prove that Tsingtao, the town which the Powers are unreservedly placing in the hands of the Japanese, is the place which has been chosen as the center of the trade. Through this gateway to northern China drugs are now pouring—seeping into the Yangtze Valley, and so into the very heart of China.

For a century and a half China has been handicapped and benumbed by this curse, and the wonder is that as a nation she still exists. Through the co-operation of the world and under the leadership of the United States a great campaign had been waged against opium and all but won. The third International Opium Conference, which met at The Hague in 1914, was about to put its seal upon the accomplished work when the intervention of the war brought it to a sudden halt. This, with the activities of the Japanese drug traders during the war, has further endangered and canceled the good already achieved.

The Chinese contend that by allowing Japan this foothold in China not only will the Powers establish a permanent seat of irritation to the Chinese Government, but will seriously menace the great international movement which was on the verge of its fulfillment. It is true that the opium question has been inserted into the text of the Peace Treaty for further consideration, but the Chinese claim that, if the obligation imposed by an International Convention was not sufficient to restrict the activities of the Japanese, the League of Nations, which is to take this question under its administration, is not likely to be more successful, particularly in view of the great temptation which this trade presents to the Japanese.

These, in brief, are some of the objections which China raises against the turning over of her people to the jurisdiction of Japan. It would seem that the Powers in conceding this point are not paving the way for peace, but rather for inevitable and almost immediate strife.

There seems, in fact, but little difference between the question of Shantung and that of Alsace-Lorraine, which rankled for sixty years in the hearts of the French and was one of the indirect causes leading to the recent calamity. Chinese sentiment and psychology are not diametrically different from those of France, and the world need only wait long enough to see history repeat itself. And this will be when China has armed herself and recovered by force that which was her own and which was arbitrarily taken from her. No injustice can permanently remain if society is to progress. If the elimination of a wrong cannot be achieved through the offices of reason and justice, then it will inevitably be achieved through force. This is a law which no league or measures of men can affect.

But the result of this decision in Paris will reach far into the future. The knowledge of this injustice will spread to the farthest limits of China and seep into the minds of hundreds of millions of men. A common thought, a common resentment, can make prodigious strides towards solidifying a people. These millions of simple, plodding natives, tilling their soil, eating rice, and loving peace, rather despised by the rest of the world, are going to react against a common wrong—three hundred millions of them. This is a thought to consider—the rousing into action of 300,000,000 of angry and resentful people.

The Shantung award hurts not only China but Japan—China very obviously and immediately. But its harm to Japan is infinitely more subtle and fundamental.

Japan is to-day at the turning of the ways and in sore need of wise and just direction. The foundations on which for thirty years she has laboriously built have suddenly given way. The whole theory of her modern development founded on the precepts of Germany has proved to be unsound. Therefore the Powers are doing her an ill turn when they urge her to pursue still further this sinister will-of-the-wisp and permit her to inaugurate the new and better era by an act not unworthy of Germany herself.

It must always be an extraordinary and regrettable fact that Japan, after centuries of striving for the high and beautiful, should upon contact with the West have abandoned her own traditions and aspirations for the ugliest and least convincing of all possessions—namely, blatant materialism. Japan has been great because of the tenor of her mind, because of her high conception of beauty and the strength and simplicity of her expression, because of her high patriotism and her grim adherence to principle. These are the attributes in which Japan excels, this is her contribution to the world, not her materialism and the ugly lessons the West has taught her.

If Japan has failed to see this lesson, and the subtle thought of German methods still persists, then come the danger and the menace to her national life—to all that has contributed to that life, to *bushido*, to Nogi, to men of like faith. To possess the world as Germany would have possessed it would mean the ultimate annihilation of her soul.

With her cleverness and industry, her initiative and power of assimilation, Japan need have no fear of honest competition. Her occupation of Shantung would be at best but a temporary thing, and at a price that she and the world could ill afford to pay. It is inconceivable that her friends should for a moment urge her to follow such a course, that the Powers in Paris should acquiesce in such a purpose. In it lies not only injustice to China, but unsound counsel to Japan and rank disloyalty to the millions of men who fought and gave their lives that such ideas and ideals should perish forever from off the earth.

Paris, June 21, 1919.

II—THE CASE FOR JAPAN

BY EVERETT P. WHEELER

ONE of the articles in the Treaty of Peace now before the Senate which has been most severely censured is Section 8, Part IV, entitled "Shantung." By this section Germany renounces in favor of Japan all her right, title, and privileges which she acquired under the treaty with China, March 6, 1898, in the province of Shantung, including railways, mines, and other appurtenances. The same treaty provides for the renunciation by Germany in favor of China of all other German rights and cessions of property in that country and for the return of the Boxer spoils. It cannot, therefore, be said that the interests of China have been neglected. But China desires also to obtain the entire invest-

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ments that the Germans have made in the province of Shantung. The facts of the case have been ignored in much of the debate that has taken place. It is necessary to understand them in order to come to an intelligent conclusion on the subject.

China is a country of great size, extending over most of the southeastern third of Asia. It has a population that has never been counted and extensive and undeveloped mineral resources, especially iron and coal, both anthracite and bituminous. The coal, however, has not been mined. This is partly due to the want of capital, engineering skill, and enterprise, and partly due to a superstitious regard for the ghosts of ancestors, whom it is supposed would be disquieted by mining. The consequence is that fuel in China is scarce. The forests have long since disappeared, and the people are driven to utilize every scrap of refuse that can produce a little heat. Notwithstanding this utilization, the suffering every winter from cold and all the year from lack of fuel for cooking and manufacturing is great. A recent letter from Shanghai gives the price of coal there at thirty dollars per ton.

Another great deficiency in China is transportation. Few railways have been built. The first, which was built in 1876, between Shanghai and Wusung, was much used, but was bought and destroyed by the authorities because of local prejudice against it. Others have been built since, mostly by foreign capital and in pursuance of concessions granted by the Chinese Government. "The Shantung Railroad was built with German capital, is 256 miles long, and began operation in 1904." Shantung, be it noted, is one of the provinces that are rich in coal.

The rights granted by the Chinese Government in 1898 to Germany in this province were not rights of sovereignty. They were similar to those granted in the United States whenever a corporation is formed. They authorized the grantees to do what it was greatly for the interest of China should be done—that is to say, to build railways, establish terminals, create a port with docks and other terminal facilities, mine coal, bring it to tidewater, and sell it. We have no definite information as to the amount invested by the Germans in these enterprises, but it must of necessity be many millions.

When Japan declared war against Germany, these properties were in the peaceable possession of Germany. It was essential to the cause of the Allies that these harbors, mines, railways, and other property should be taken from the Germans. The Japanese sent an army and captured them. Not a tael of Chinese money, not a drop of Chinese blood, was expended in the conquest. China was not at war with Germany. The extraordinary statement made in the Senate that by international law all the rights of Germany ceased at the beginning of the war is entirely unwarranted. It was the right of a belligerent to seize them, and this was done, but after these rights had been conquered by Japan China had no right to revoke them, and never did.

What possible equity has China to deprive Japan of these fruits of the war, conquered by her own energy and courage, at the cost of Japanese lives and with the expenditure of Japanese money?

Is it in the interest of China that these concessions to Germany thus acquired by Japan and this property which is the result of intelligent expenditure of capital should be forfeited? To answer this question we must look a little into the history and conditions of China.

The great domain of China is divided into eighteen provinces. During the reign of the Manchu dynasty these provinces had a considerable measure of local independence. The extent of the country was such and the difficulty of transportation was so great that some local independence was essential. When the Manchu dynasty was dethroned and the Provisional Constitution was adopted, March 10, 1912, the power of the President of the new Republic was so limited by this instrument that the Government broke down. A new Provisional Constitution was adopted, May 1, 1914. This centralizes the powers of the General Government, which was undoubtedly wise. But, naturally, the governors of the provinces disliked any limitation of their powers. Some of these provinces are in revolt against the Central Government. In most of them the administration is corrupt and inefficient. It cannot be said that China has an orderly Government, or that investments in mines and railways are secure without other protection than that given by the Chinese police. Indeed, in all the foreign concessions, such as Shanghai, the police protection is given by foreign policemen. The tall Sikh in Shanghai is a familiar sight, and far more effective for the maintenance of order than any representative of the Chinese Government. The result of this is that which has always followed where government is inefficient, the means of transportation poor, and the natural resources not developed. The people suffer. The Chinese are industrious, thrifty, patient, and intelligent, but they live in a condition of poverty and cold that it is almost impossible for an American to conceive. I quote from the official report of the Secretary of the Maritime Commerce of China:

"To form an idea of what future prospects are, it is fair to make a comparison with India. The areas of the two empires are almost identical and their products very similar. But China has a larger, a more industrious and more intelligent population, while, on the whole, the country is probably more fertile and possesses greater mineral resources. In the former country trade is assisted by good roads, railways, and lightness or absence of taxation; in the latter, at present, it is hampered by directly opposite conditions. The result is that the exports from India are worth three times the exports from China. With equal opportunities, which the building of railways and opening of mines will bring about, the discrepancy should disappear."

It is therefore obvious that what China needs for the comfort and happiness of its people is intelligent investment of foreign capital, directed by competent engineers and managed for the benefit not only of the investors but of the Chinese themselves. It is no new thing for railways and other public enterprises to be constructed in one country by the capital of another. The railway from Montreal to Portland, for example, which is now part of the Grand Trunk, was originally constructed by foreign capital, mostly British. It was never thought any derogation to the sovereignty of the United States or of the State of Maine that this railway should be built in American territory. The Chinese themselves granted to the Russian Government the right to build a section of the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria. This has been operated for years to the mutual benefit of China and Russia. China had little foreign commerce until the ports occupied by Europeans were established in accordance with treaties made between European governments and that of China. All this has been of great mutual benefit. The Chinese people as a whole have been gainers to an extent that it is difficult to estimate by the foreign settlements and investments that have been established, and by the administration of their customs service under the direction of English and Americans. The prejudice which the Chinese had against foreigners, and which led them for a long while to shut up their country, is being dispelled in those parts of China where foreigners have made investments.

The conclusion is that the objections which have been taken to the Shantung section of the Treaty of Peace have not arisen so much from love of China as from jealousy of Japan. Nothing seems too bad to say of Japan, and yet there is no country in Asia which deserves such admiration. During the short period of seventy years which has elapsed since Commodore Perry, with American ships, landed in Japan, and Townsend Harris negotiated the treaty of commerce between the two countries, July 29, 1858, the Japanese have maintained an efficient government which has secured protection for the persons and property of its citizens and has enabled the people to make great advances in manufactures, in commerce, in transportation, in education, and in the administration of justice.

We are just at the close of the most bloody and destructive war recorded in history. The real cause of that war was national prejudice and hatred, which had been fomented for years. The writer traveled in Germany in 1902. In every important city, except Hamburg, the press continuously attacked England. The mixture of suspicion and vituperation that pervaded the German press at

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that time continued down to the fatal month of August, 1914. In the light of the awful results of such persistent attacks, where peace "made war with words, edged more keen than ever were our foreign foemen's swords," the wickedness of the present attacks upon Japan becomes manifest. Who can maintain, when the facts already stated are considered, that the Japanese have not as much right to the railways and mines in Shantung, the right to make and operate which were granted to Germany by China, as America had to construct the Panama Railroad in 1850, and now has to operate the Panama Canal, the railway across the Isthmus used in connection with it, and the harbors at either end?

It may be said that the Chinese would prefer German to Japanese possession of the Shantung railways, harbors, and mines. Such a statement as this ignores the facts of history. When in 1900 the Boxer Rebellion cut off Peking from all communication with the outside world, and some of the foreign representatives there were murdered, foreign nations agreed to send troops to their relief. These were sent. The discipline of the Japanese troops was perfect; they treated civilians with absolute consideration. On the other hand, the Germans, wherever they had opportunity, showed the same brutality that they did in Belgium and northern France. They looted some valuable Chinese possessions, which under this Treaty they are required to restore. There can be no question that it is far more to the interest of the Chinese that the railways and mines in Shantung should be managed by Japanese than by Germans.

But it may be said, and has been said: How can we be sure that Japan will recognize the sovereignty of China in the Shantung Peninsula? To this we reply: What reason is there to doubt it? The Japanese have been faithful to their treaty obligations in the past, and Japan has become a member of the League of Nations. Membership in this League has been offered to China, who will undoubtedly in the end accept such membership. One object of the Covenant of this League is stated to be "a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealing of organized peoples with one another." "Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty" are declared to be among those which "are generally suitable for submission to arbitration." "The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered." In our judgment, therefore, the attempt that China has been making to obtain possession of property of great value for which it pays no price, has expended no money, and, in a word, has done nothing to create, is not justified by the law of nations or by the fair dealing which should prevail between them, and constitutes no objection to the ratification of the Treaty now before the Senate.

It should never be forgotten that the present independence of China is due in a large measure to the success of the Japanese in their war with Russia. The condition before that war is justly described by Henry Adams:

"The vast force of inertia known as China was to be united with the huge bulk of Russia in a single mass, which no amount of new force could henceforward deflect."

When Chinese statesmen recall this deliverance, may we not hope that the present jealousy of Japan will disappear, and that both countries may become loyal members of the League?

July 23, 1919.

WHAT DOES THE NEGRO WANT?

THE ANSWER OF THE DOUGLASS PUBLIC SCHOOL

BY R. H. LEAVELL

"WHAT all dis wah in Europe about?"

The youth who shot this abrupt question at me was a slender mulatto with the fires of race hate smoldering in his eyes. The time was a day four months after America had entered the world war. The place was a Negro churchyard in Mississippi where five hundred colored people had met at a picnic held by their Sunday school association.

Only a few hours before the lad's father had been telling me how his son hated the Southern white man. And as the boy fixed his hostile gaze upon me I realized that, although I was a stranger, he had classed me already as an enemy. And yet my errand was the not unfriendly one of trying to find out for the United States Department of Labor why so many Negroes were leaving my own native State for Northern industries.

How to answer this sullen boy so as to be honest with myself without intensifying his bitter feeling toward white Americans perplexed me for a moment. Then I fell back upon an undefined word of many syllables.

"The object of this war," said I, "is to make the world safe for democracy—in Europe."

Now I doubt whether the lad would have taken in the meaning of my somewhat oracular remark, despite his migration through eight grades of some sort of a public school, had not my guide, a Negro teacher of shrewd intelligence, promptly translated for him:

"That means we are fighting to get freedom for the people in Europe. You are willing to fight, aren't you, to help them get it?"

"Yaas," was the quick reply. "But while I'se fightin' I'd like to get a little mo' freedom fuh myself."

As he spoke a chuckling murmur of approval spread through the group of yellow and black and brown men that stood about us.

"A little more freedom for his own race here in America," said I to myself. "I wonder what he means by 'freedom'? What is it that the Negro really wants?" And for a dependable answer to these queries I have applied to many men in each race during the past two years.

Not long ago I put the question to a discerning man of affairs in one of the chief cities of the South. For more than a generation this man has stood in the front rank of those who are wrestling with the baffling problem of safeguarding the ideals of white civilization while at the same time insuring to the Negro "a man's chance" to become American.

"What does 'freedom' mean to the Negro?" this man of business repeated thoughtfully. "What does he want of the ruling race in this 'white man's country'?" Then, after a moment, he added: "From the standpoint of the white, there is another question which is still more vital, and that is, Can we, with justice to our own children, provide the Negro with adequate opportunity to achieve democracy? But the correct solution of this problem hinges on our learning the true answer to that first inquiry, What does the Negro really want?"

In the pause that followed my friend gazed at me in the eager, searching way that with him is the sure sign of the swift marshaling of ideas gathered from a broad experience. And then he sent me on a mission.

"Go to the Douglass Public School in Cincinnati. Perhaps that institution will throw some light on what the Negro asks of white America in the way of a fighting chance to win democracy."

And so a little later I found myself explaining the object of my visit to F. M. Russell, the Negro principal, under whom for nearly a decade the Douglass School has rendered its largest service to his people. A glance at the broad brow, the steady, direct eyes, and the smiling, friendly face told me at once that here was a man who could dream a dream and then could do his part with others in making it come true.

From the principal himself, from teachers associated with him, and from representative white citizens I gathered testimony, free of contradiction, as to the contributive work of the Douglass School. Here is the story:

Hardly more than a stone's throw

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from the home of the woman who wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin" stands the handsome brick-and-cement structure which houses this modern school. Upon the brow of the same hill is Lane Seminary, around which there centered before the Civil War one of the main stations on the famous Underground Railroad from slavery to freedom. As time passed, many of those who had come found themselves abiding near the homes of the kindly and high-minded enthusiasts who had befriended them. The end of the war did not stop the growth of this black community; for from time to time others have come seeking to better their condition.

Now there is a truth, familiar to all when it is applied to fowls of the air, that is equally a truth when it is applied to human beings, although this fact is not so clearly appreciated by many. For of men as much as of winged creatures can it be said that "birds of a feather flock together." In obedience, therefore, to this law of life as well as to the law of the State as it then was, a separate public school was established in that neighborhood for the Negro children.

But as time passed the public mind became opposed to racial segregation in the schools as a matter of man-made law. The Legislature, accordingly, put an end to compulsory separation as long ago as 1888. And yet during the thirty-one years that have gone by since then the great majority of the Negroes in the Douglass district have continued to send their children to Douglass because they *prefer* this Negro school.

Their choice is clearly a free one; for within the same territory are three other public schools that are open to both white and black. And yet only a handful of colored boys and girls are to be found there consorting with the white race. The actual statistics are impressive. For, although the Douglass section contains 1,087 Negroes between the ages of six and twenty-one, the enrollment at Douglass numbers 936. About one hundred of these live in other parts of the city and go to the trouble of walking or of paying car-fare rather than attend mixed schools near their own homes.

How many go to the three mixed schools within easy reach of the Douglass neighborhood? The precise answer cannot be given, because the School Board does not tabulate enrollment by races, but only by schools. It is plain, however, that those attending these institutions from that territory are negligible in number. For if we subtract from the district's population of those between the ages of six and twenty-one all who go to Douglass, we have a remainder of some two hundred and fifty. Subtract again from this remainder that large proportion of boys and girls above compulsory school age who must work for their bread, and who because of this are not in school anywhere, and it becomes clear that only a few can be going to mixed schools. It is, indeed, the estimate of competent persons that not over five per cent of those actually in school attend with white children. But even if we play safe by doubling this estimate, we find that ninety per cent of the children in school are enrolled at Douglass. And this is the place where of their own free will none but Negroes attend.

Clearly, then, the colored community is overwhelmingly in favor of the separate school. It follows that Douglass in greater degree than other accessible institutions meets the real wants of the Negro. If, therefore, we learn just what Douglass offers to that community and just how Douglass makes the offer, we shall have some light at least on what a Negro group that is above the average in intelligence and in enterprise does want from white America.

"What struck you as the greatest service that Douglass renders the neighborhood?" The reply of a sympathetic white Southerner to this query was emphatic and instantaneous:

"The Rough House in the evenings for the boys."

In a large basement room, on a level with the ground outside, the Rough House holds its nightly session. Under the supervision of a teacher, the youngsters find vent here for their surplus energy and animal spirits. So many throng the place that it would be a puzzle how to find room for all to play at once. Fortunately, games like basket-ball and contests like boxing, if gone at with a vim, soon reduce the participants to a state of breathless willingness to retire to the rooters' bench. It is but natural, therefore, that the boys should find almost equal satisfaction in playing the game for all it is worth and in shouting for their side. The boys have, indeed, proved their interest in a very practical way, for with their own hands they have made and erected the basket-ball goals.

Now all of this promotes team-work, as well as friendly rivalry with the "good sports" on the opposing side, and a common fellowship with the other "husky," whether he be for or against a boy's own crowd. And so that overflow of vitality which, if undirected, might easily result in tough gangs is put in harness to achieve the democratic spirit.

Again, even "robustious" youth is sometimes glad of a quiet hour. One corner of the Rough House has therefore been set apart for less strenuous games, such as checkers and crokinole. Then, too, there is a community branch of the public library for those in quiet mood. This branch library is conspicuously and conveniently housed in another large basement room provided by the school. And the public library furnishes the books and the trained attendant. Here the girls as well as the boys are welcome, and the old as well as the young. The doors remain open after school hours, closing for the day at nine o'clock.

Douglass offers other opportunities for work and play in the early evenings. Thus there is a five months' night school in academic and industrial subjects, much frequented by migrants from the South. And all the year around there are "gym" classes for men and for women, as well as clubs of all sorts—clubs for house servants, for factory girls, for young men, for girls in high school, and for girls in the University. Then, too, the auditorium is thrown open for lectures, concerts, and the movies.

All of the activities that one may expect in a modern school are to be found at Douglass. Manual training and domestic science, an open-air room for the tuberculous and a class for defectives, school gardens and a supervised playground—all are here. There is also a lunch-room where nourishing and quickly assimilable foods may be had at recess periods. The policy of the School Board for its maintenance is worth noting. For the lunch-room begins the school year with a thirty-day credit at the wholesale houses. And after that it must maintain itself out of current income.

Of the activities named thus far, one is of especial value for the Negro race. The open-air room is what I mean. For the fact is notorious that consumption is the "black man's scourge." It is therefore particularly cheering to the believer in democracy to find that the School Board provides the same high quality of care and equipment for these imperiled Negro children that it does for whites in the same danger.

For a race that is struggling upward another standard provision is of peculiar importance. This is the separation of the defectives from the normal children. Not only are normal children who have had good school opportunities held back when defectives are in their classes, but children who have previously attended poor schools, as is the case with so many of the migrants from the South, have a still greater disadvantage when those of feeble mind are taught with them. By separating defective from normal minds, each can be taught the better.

Of late even the problem of the newcomer, backward because of poor schools, has become acute. For the final result of the great demand for labor in Northern industries which grew out of war conditions has been a heavy migration of Negro families from the South. Since the signing of the armistice this family movement has indeed slowed down, but it has not stopped.

The successful way in which the problem of these new children has been dealt with furnishes convincing proof of the wisdom of the Board in allowing to every school a wide liberty in working out the problems of its neighborhood. It is eloquent, too, of the efficiency with which principal and teachers meet the specific needs of their own people as those needs arise.

The root idea was the establishment of a separate room for the over-age children from the South. But it took an artist in humanity to prevent such segregation from becoming a badge of humiliation and discouragement.

"We'll call this room," the princi-

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pal explained, "the Opportunity Class." Here the teacher devotes herself especially to coaching the individual pupils, although in certain specific subjects, such as manual training, the departmental instructors help too. So admirably do the students respond that in one case a child made four grades in a single year; and two grades a year is a common record. That the other children feel a sympathetic interest in these newcomers is indicated by the nickname they have for them—"the Sunny South Class."

"It occurred to me," added the principal, "that a Southern woman would be better able than a Northerner to understand these young Southerners. I therefore put in charge a capable woman from Montgomery, Alabama. Her grasp of the problem is revealed by the results achieved by the children."

The resourcefulness of the management both in meeting school needs and in utilizing available materials is further emphasized in the following instance: In conformity with the co-operative policy of the School Board and the Park Commission, the latter had condemned several dwelling-houses next to the school, in order to put in a modern playground. One of these houses was in fair condition; and upon Mr. Russell's requesting that it be preserved, the Commission promptly consented. Now the girls have the house for a practice home in domestic science, the neighborhood has it for a community center, and the children have its broad kitchen porch during summer playtime for an ice-cream parlor. Then, too, the manual training boys have combined practice work and community service by building from the ground up a handsome fireplace in the chief club-room.

Let me add in passing that the teachers at Douglass realize that if you increase a man's wants he will work harder so as to have the means for satisfying his new needs. I had commented upon the fine quality of furniture with which the practice house was equipped and had asked if stuff that cost that much might not result merely in the creation of an unattainable ideal.

"No," said my guide. "At present wages many, through saving, can buy furniture as good as this. And such ideals give an incentive to the wage-earner for steadier work."

The record as thus far presented gives ample proof both that a just School Board provides Negro children with opportunities equal to those of the white and that the leadership within the school is sane and resourceful. But, after all, these would come to nothing without a teaching staff of high quality. Several of the Douglass teachers are from reputable Negro institutions. And all comply with the requirement of the School Board that teachers shall do some studying each year in such an approved institution as the University of Cincinnati, itself a part of the school system.

But the remark of one teacher from New Orleans struck me most forcibly.

"My leaving the South," she said, "was simply a business necessity. I am studying for my A.B. degree, and I have decided that it is a needless expense to go from the far South to summer sessions at Ann Arbor and Chicago, when I can get my education at the municipal university here while earning a comfortable living as a teacher."

As a white Southerner I have found much food for thought in this statement, especially because eleven out of the twenty-eight teachers on the efficient staff at Douglass have been contributed by the South. And the South is none too rich in such treasure.

In all that I have written my aim has been to make clear what the Douglass School is doing and how it does it. To whom is honor due for this signal service to American democracy across the bounds of race?

The question is not easy to answer; for, as is characteristic of democracy, the leadership has been co-operative. But, wherever the idea had its birth, it is worth while to remember that back in 1910, when the Douglass School got its present splendid building, an Ohioan whose Virginia Quaker father had freed his own slaves years ago was superintendent of schools in Cincinnati; that he worked in harmony with the president of the municipal university, a Virginian who in former years wrought effectively in the eastern South for better schools for all the children of all the people; and that Booker Washington is said to have been consulted in the selection of the Tennessee Negro who has furnished the direct leadership. For the rest the school would amount to nothing but for the cordial and statesmanlike support it receives from the present School Board and their superintendent, and but for the backing of the local Negro community.

Do the people of Cincinnati indorse the policy of voluntary attendance by Negroes at schools maintained exclusively for Negroes?

Yes. For how else may we interpret the recent creation of the Stowe Public School, modeled after the Douglass, in the heart of a congested downtown center of Negro population? And how else may we interpet the action of the great majority of Negro parents there in sending their children to Stowe and to other exclusively Negro schools in that district? The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

My journey over, I sought out my friend in the South.

"What did you find that those Negroes want?" he queried.

"Only this," was my answer. "As good a chance for their boy and girl as you and I want for ours. But they feel that they get that chance most surely by staying in their own crowd. For us in the South this case is especially encouraging; because, in view of the selected character of the original group and their close relations with white abolitionists, we need not have been surprised had these Negroes desired mixed schools and social intermingling. On the contrary, this community, while reaching up toward white standards, prefers racial seclusion. These people revere their own racial personality. This fact could not be better set forth than by quoting from the four huge placards that confront the visitor in the main entrance to the Douglass School. For on the placards are these words:

"Self-Control: Self-Reliance: Self-Respect: and Race Pride!"

Does not this record provide just ground for a faith deep enough to cause white Americans to see to it that the children of the Negro have opportunities for self-development in separate schools that are equal in quality to the opportunities we demand for our own children? May not America find in such an enterprise the chance to teach the world the supreme truth that democracy means, not the wiping out of racial personality, but rather the cherishing of racial difference and the ennobling of diverse stocks for the enrichment of us all?

FROM THE DIARY OF A TRAVELING SALESMAN

BY J. ANNAN

Sunday Night.

I AM on the sleeper bound for Erie, having just left my wife at the Albany station. Singular that, no matter how often I start off for a trip on the road, there is a mist in her eyes which she tries to hide by smiling bravely. One would think that it were for six months or a year and to some distant land I was going instead of on a three weeks' trip to a near-by State. Nevertheless it does seem good to hear a better good-by than a masculine "So long! Hope your trip is successful." I envy the fellow who returns at night to his own fireside. Strange beds and hotel food wear on one after a while. Sometimes it seems as if all the chefs had learned the art of cooking in a school where they drowned the food in one kettle of a highly seasoned liquid which removed all individual flavor. A trout might be a bluefish (perhaps it is).

Although my berth has been made up, I am sitting in the smoking compartment, listening to the heavy rain and waiting for the rest to get settled for the night. Years of travel have made me selfish enough to prefer waking others up when I retire to being wakened myself. Besides, berths were never made for one of my

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CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

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A MAKESHIFT TROLLEY HELPING TO SOLVE THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM DURING A STRIKE

The strike of the employees of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, as with similar strikes in Chicago and Boston, resulted in great inconvenience to the public. All kinds of vehicles were transformed into buses to carry passengers in the emergency; a motor truck used in Brooklyn in this way is shown above; hundreds of these trucks made the journey between industrial centers in New York and the remoter districts of Brooklyn

(C) Underwood & Underwood

RESCUING A NEGRO DURING THE RACE RIOTS IN CHICAGO

The Negro seen in the picture was, it is said, pursued by a mob and ran to the mounted policeman shown at the left, who kept the mob at bay until other officers arrived on the scene. This Negro was armed for defense; the policeman at his side is shown in the act of taking a weapon from his hip pocket

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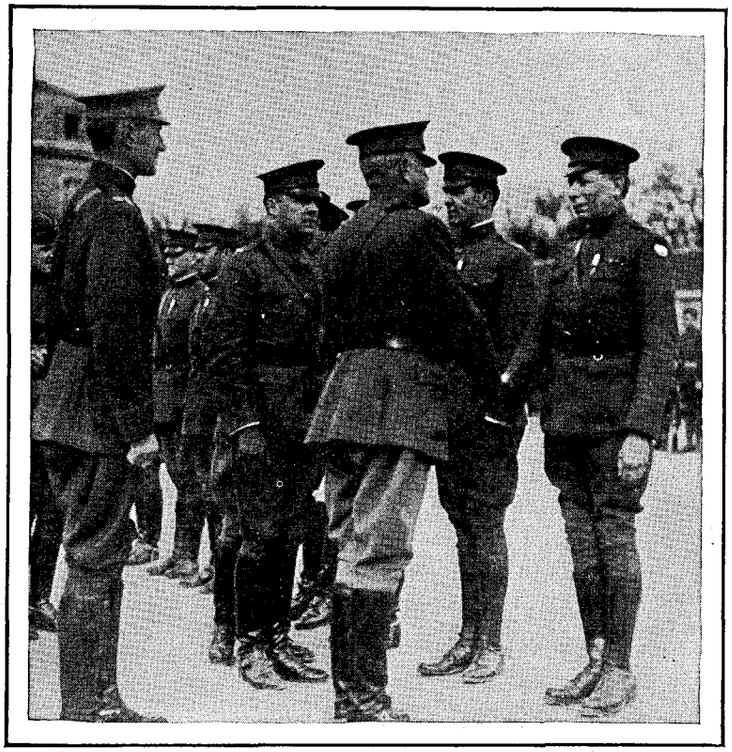
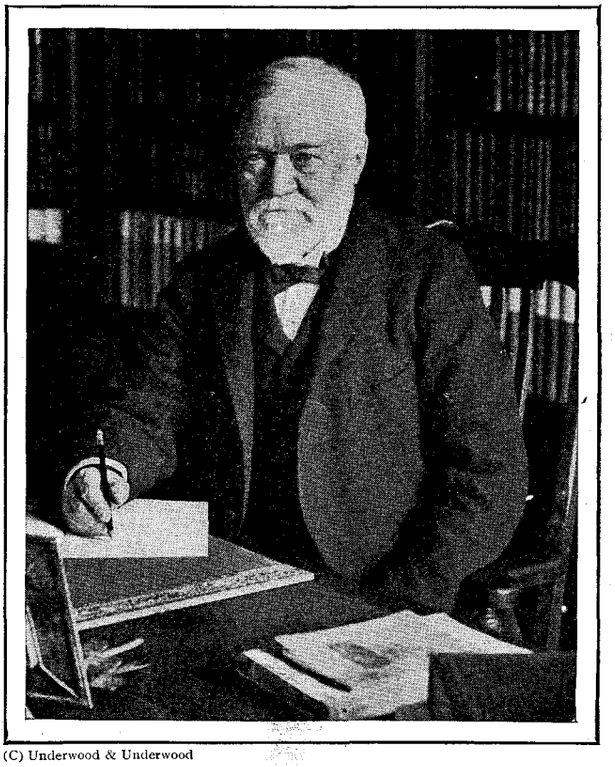


U. S. Official Photograph

GENERAL PERSHING DECORATING BISHOP BRENT IN FRANCE

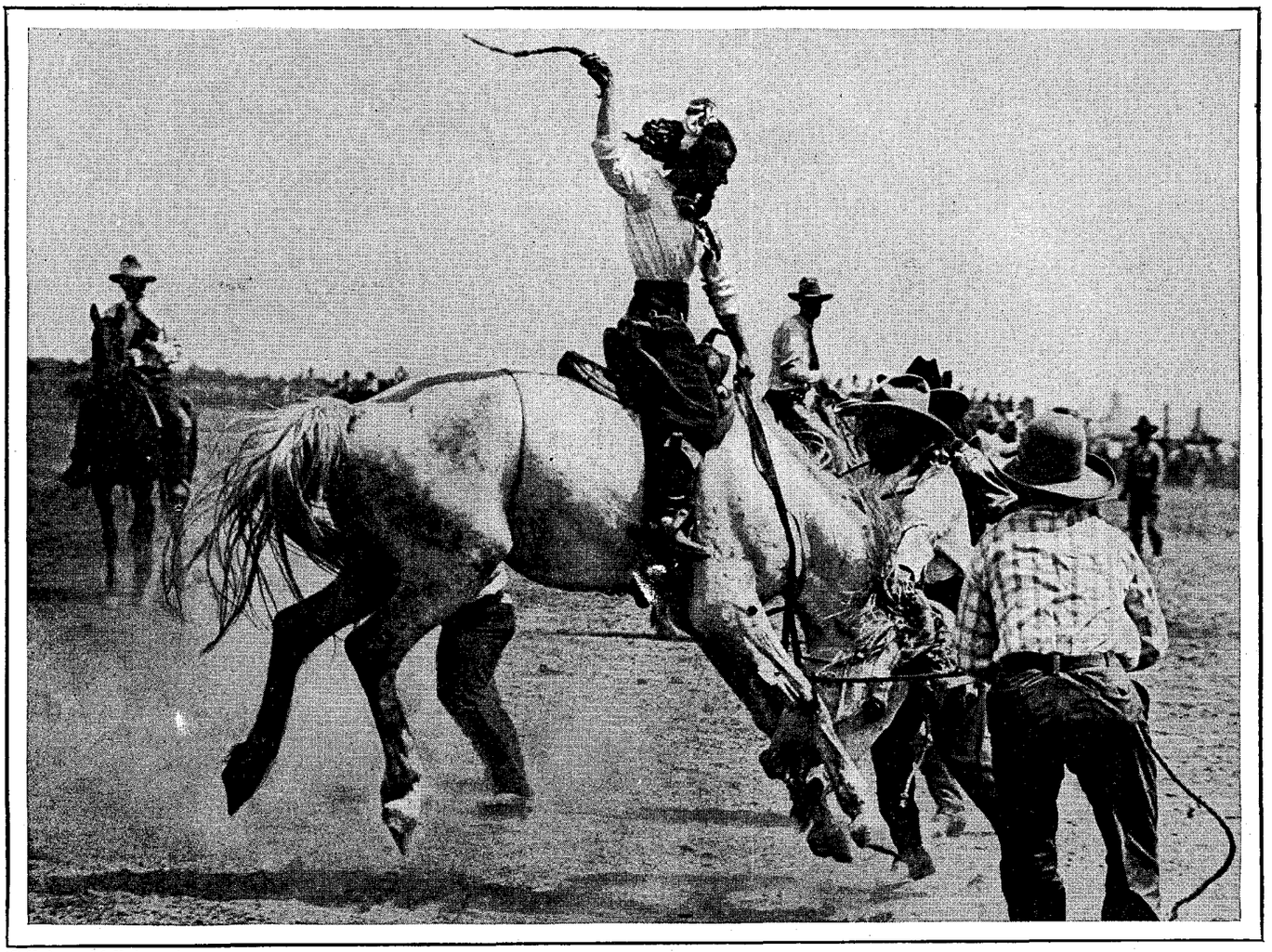
Bishop Brent, of the American Episcopal Church, took a notable part in the war as senior chaplain with the A. E. F., and his work for the soldiers' welfare has been fittingly recognized by the military authorities, as shown in the above picture



(C) Underwood & Underwood

ANDREW CARNEGIE IN HIS LIBRARY AMONG HIS FAVORITE BOOKS

For an editorial estimate of Mr. Carnegie's character and career see page 596



(C) Underwood & Underwood

A CHAMPION WOMAN BRONCO BUSTER

Here is a typical scene at the recent "Cheyenne Frontier Days" Roundup at Cheyenne, Wyoming. The young woman, Miss Kitty Carnutt, shown in the photograph, took the second prize in the women's world championship bronco busting contest

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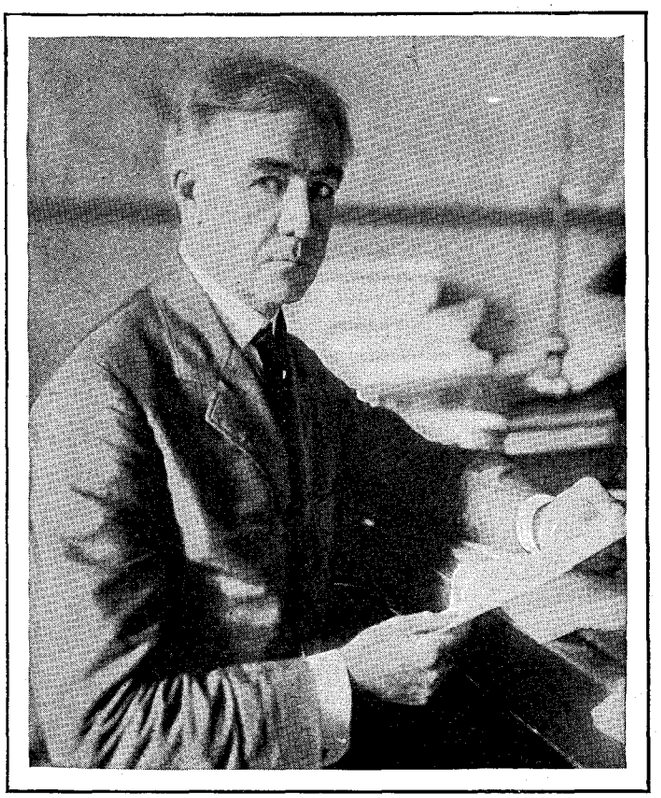
SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA



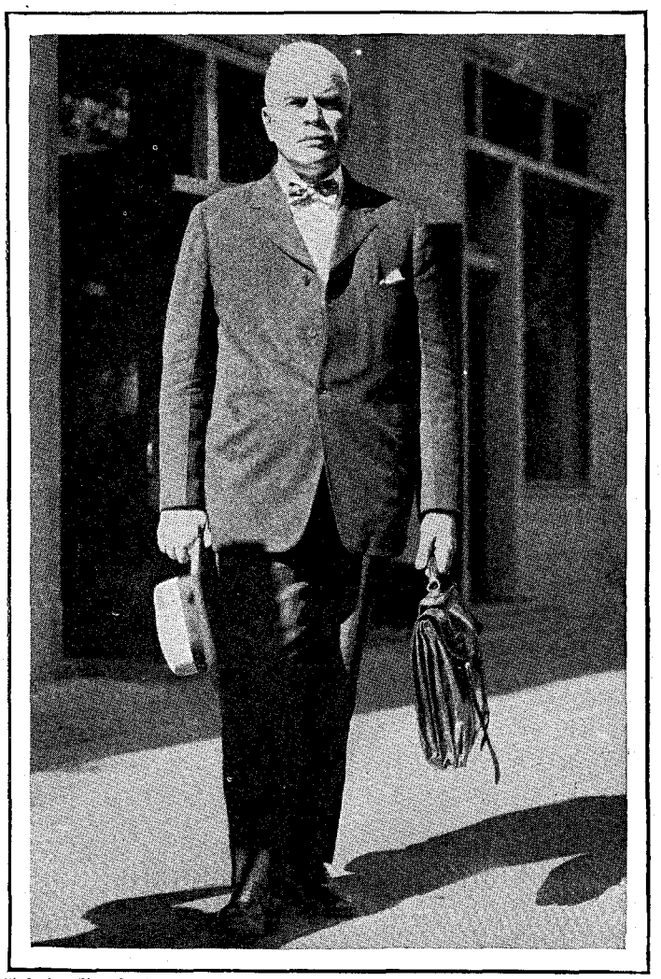
(C) Clinedinst, from Press Illustrating Service

SENATOR GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, OF NEBRASKA

Senator Johnson is one of the foremost critics and Senator Hitchcock one of the most active defenders of the Administration's peace policy

(C) Ledger Photo Service

L. E. SHEPPARD, PRESIDENT OF THE ORDER OF RAILROAD CONDUCTORS



(C) Ledger Photo Service

WARREN S. STONE, GRAND CHIEF OF THE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS

These prominent railway labor men are leading supporters of the Plumb plan for Government ownership of railways, reported in last week's Outlook

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length. Absolute sleep, the kind that "knits up the raveled sleave of care," is impossible for me.

Monday Night—Meadville.

This hotel is a comfortable, old-fashioned building with high ceilings and exceedingly large rooms. Bath-rooms were invented evidently after the house was built, and so alternate bedrooms have been converted. It is rather unusual for one to have a hotel bath-room $20 \times 20 \times 20$. It makes me feel as if I had a suite partitioned off in a warehouse.

Went to bed last night after leaving Utica. At Rochester some one scrambled noisily into the berth over mine, which was thoughtful of him. Then he began to snore—not quiet, respectable snores, but snorts and agonized wheezings and chokings. I lay awake an hour or more, wondering how he managed to come to after each choke. He did it just as if it were a regular thing. As there was no respite to be had apparently, I got up and washed and shaved just before we pulled into Buffalo, where I walked up and down the platform, drawing in great breaths of damp, smoke-laden air with the hope that it was fairly well filtered before it reached my lungs. At the worst, however, it could not equal the impure, stuffy air of the car I had just left. It was still raining, and the streets had that wretched look that city streets have in rainy weather.

Wednesday Night—Oil City.

For the first time I have been in the oil regions of Pennsylvania. The pungent odor of the crude oil penetrated the train while yet we were several miles away. Every one talks oil, although in small figures, for it does not flow as it did in the early days. It has to be pumped, and a half barrel is considered a very fair output per day for one well. As we came into the city I could see along the track the heavy, cumbersome walking-beams and the pipe-lines to iron reservoirs. Every available foot seemed to be bored or piped. Even the narrow margin between the railway and the river was disfigured with pumps and reservoirs and a network of pipes. I listened to two men on the train talking about drilling a well on a little farm. They expected to go down one thousand feet at a cost of a dollar a foot. They might get a half-barrel a day; they might get a quarter—the average amount; and they might have the unpleasant satisfaction of spending their money without striking any oil. About as risky a gamble as a horse-race, and more expensive.

Sunday Afternoon—Butler.

The hotel here is a very comfortable place to spend one's Sunday. A pleasant room overlooking a little square, a bath, and delightful meals are all one could wish for among strangers. This is the first commercial hotel in all my travels where they have guest books. At least they had them. The last three or four, of several years' standing, are on the table in the lobby. Some of the former guests' remarks were witty, some very matter-of-fact, and some coarse. Occasionally there are human animals that have not allowed their minds to ascend above the level of the mere brute.

Thursday Night—Harrisburg.

Here in the streets of Harrisburg one sees an occasional Mennonite or Dunkard in garb strange to New Yorkers, where short skirts, sporty stockings, and décolleté gowns have educated us out of the idea that anything more modest can maintain a dignified fashion of its own. I know nothing of the religion of these people, but it must be substantial and satisfying, for strong, healthy bodies and pure faces are the rule, with scarce an exception. Taine said that the English people fought for their religion, even died for it, but never lived it. Apparently these people do. It must be fearfully hard to live one's religion on week-days. I never tried it.

Yesterday I was in Gettysburg, a vast cemetery with a costly post office in the center. I was told by a native that it takes longer to get a letter now than before, the clerk has to walk such a distance to get it. It is decidedly out of keeping with either the appearance of the place or the necessities of it. But government by all the people, for all the people, means a large pork barrel.

In the hotel lobby, after dinner, a man passed me his card, which read, "Capt. ——, Guide." He explained that he was not really a captain, but the boys called him that, so he let it go. People liked to hear him talk, he said, and always gave him cigars, for he could talk better while smoking. As I didn't want to hear him talk, I refrained from such extravagance, but it didn't seem to make any difference. At last I went to bed and shivered until morning, when I transacted my business as quickly as possible and returned to Harrisburg. To-morrow I make a quick run to Baltimore, then back to Reading and the hard-coal country; and then home, thank the Lord! I want home-cooked food, a home-made bed, an easy chair and slippers, my favorite pipe and a good book.

Friday Night—Baltimore.

Annapolis is a quaint old city. It has an atmosphere of absolute calm, a restful effect on frayed-out nerves that gets you. You feel as if you had been transported to the eighteenth century, and you almost expect to see Richard Carvel and Dorothy Manners sitting under a spreading tree by one of the old, old houses. Black mammies and little pickaninnies are more in evidence now, I imagine, than two centuries ago. One old crone, black as a thunder cloud and looking fully as threatening, tottered along ahead of me, muttering to herself and yet loud enough for all near by to hear. It was evident she had a strong aversion to "white trash."

Adjoining Annapolis, but separated by a stone wall and two centuries, is the Naval Academy. Beautiful and modern buildings around three sides of a quadrangle face the bay, which stretches like a burnished mirror to the horizon.

The band was just finishing the morning concert. While I lingered the middies marched to their classes with such clockwork precision that it stirred even my sluggish blood. I wish every young man in the country could have this training—not for preparedness primarily, although that is good; but for the snap, the vigor, the ability to govern and to obey, that it gives him.

Sunday.

A long, narrow valley, with coal mines and culm heaps on the hills five hundred yards apart or thereabouts and with washeries at the beginning and ending of the two miles of straggling buildings, is the setting of this nameless city. Occasionally one sees a fair building like a high school or a church or a bank, but nothing else. Of all the wealth taken from the earth there is little evidence. For entertainment there are the movies and a theater which, judging from a bill setting forth a coming attraction, does not always have first-class talent. And occasionally there is a gala night, when the male population, or a large part of it, pushes its way into a weather-beaten barn of a hall to see a prize fight. Last night upon the hotel piazza several stocky young men with cauliflower ears were earnestly discussing their chances. They were healthy brutes and by no means so foul-mouthed as their hangers-on and backers. Still they showed but little intelligence, and it was not hard to surmise that they would never get beyond the "preliminaries" stage in big affairs. The boxing game requires quick brains as well as quick muscles and strong bodies.

This afternoon I came back from a walk sooner than I expected, and found my door locked on the inside. Presently two waitresses opened it, and naïvely and unembarrassedly explained that, as my room contained the only bath on the floor, they had been using it. Well, I have the consolation of feeling that a clean girl will wait upon me at table even if I do pay for her baths.

I asked the clerk of the hotel last night what there was interesting to see around town, and after considerable thought he said there was not a thing except a "swell dance" at the park. I went to the affair and watched the rising and risen generation dance. Some did remarkably well. After a while one of the young men—possibly the floor manager—came up and politely asked me if I were a stranger. Upon being told that I was, he said, "Why don't you dance?"

"Because I do not know any one," I replied.

"Oh, that don't make any difference. Just grab any one. It will be all right."

However, I didn't, but watched with interest the different types of young citizens—descendants of Slavs, Germans, Irish, Italians, and Swedes. Possibly there were other races represented, but I could pick out these readily. Altogether they were a fresh, attractive-looking lot of young men and women—somewhat unconventional in language and demeanor, but sound at the core.

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Thursday night—Wilkes-Barre.

Hazleton is the highest point in Pennsylvania. It is a matter of great pride to the inhabitants. The cabman speaks of it; the hotel clerk mentions it; and every one with whom you do business boasts of it. Still, every town should have some one thing of which to be proud. And what, pray, is better than altitude? "I will look unto the hills from whence cometh my help." Only Hazleton, being on the highest plateau, has to look down, if indeed it looks anywhere.

What a busy little city Wilkes-Barre is! Its one square is the center of the retail business and the evening promenade. Round and round at night the younger generation walks, at first the girls in groups or by twos, and later each girl with the boy of her choice. Somewhere on the square mate calls to mate, and the girls have beaux to see them home—the same old game, thousands of years old, but ever new to the happy participants. Heigh-ho! I wish I were at home!

Dinner is over, and I am lucky enough to have some mail—one letter from my wife, cheery and bracing as October air, and one from Betty, a dear little girl of six who calls me Uncle Jim and tells me all her doings in her own delightful way, albeit it is as hard to decipher as a combination of the chirography of Napoleon Bonaparte and Horace Greeley.

Sunday—Scranton.

This is the queen city of the coal regions. It has handsome public buildings and beautiful homes, and is withal clean and progressive. Saturday night is always the great parade night for the workers. Money flows freely then. A certain percentage of the week's wage is spent in pleasure, harmless or otherwise. Knowing this, a certain class of vampires ogle the men as they pass, or, if a more exclusive type, permit men to ogle them. It is such times as these that are dangerous for the young man who has no ties to bind him; when the loneliness of having human beings everywhere about him and yet not one to speak to in anything but a business way is absolutely oppressive. The older men have letters to write and have seen that business and folly do not mix. That may be an unmoral view rather than a high standard of ethics, but it keeps traveling men as a class clean. Happier and less cynical is he who can keep before him the vision of the one who has faith in him as he has faith in her.

This evening I heard a fine sermon, and it was supplemented by most excellent music. The sermon was clear and logical and appealed to a man's best mental powers. There was nothing in it of the sensational or the appeal to sympathies. It was a lecture which showed research, broad knowledge of history, and, better, a clear insight into psychology. The man was a thinker not only, but had gone outside of cloister walls and had met with the doers of the world. It was a spur to sluggish minds and an incentive to right living. But a wanderer does not get this treat every Sunday.

Tuesday Night.

Lowering clouds and rain beating against the windows by my breakfast table this morning. Not a pleasant prospect for a day's work, but with a mental "Cheer up! The worst is yet to come," I attacked a hearty breakfast to put me in good physical shape. A full stomach can forgive any weather and almost any insult. I put on raincoat and rubbers, and with umbrella raised I started out to see the first of ten customers. Around the corner my umbrella was turned inside out, a wreck, and I faced the gusts of rain chastened in appearance but decidedly unchastened in spirit. I reached my first place, and with my best smile entered. Gloom sat enthroned here. The proprietor looked as if his family and friends had died, his money was lost, and a mortal sickness was upon him. I told a funny story. He eyed me with disfavor. I told another. He looked at the puddle of water which my raincoat was making on the floor. I tried a sad anecdote, which cheered him up a little, and at the end of an hour I sold him about a quarter of what I should.

The next call was no better. Everything was wrong. The times were bad, the present Administration rotten, the last one rottener, and the next one will probably be worse. I cheered him up with an expenditure of a lot of vitality and sold him a small bill of goods. The next man was busy, and I made an appointment to take him to lunch. Then I saw two others who did not buy anything, and came back for my luncheon appointment. Wet as I was, I enjoyed the meal. Over coffee my customer agreed to buy a larger line than I had expected, and, furthermore, he was good for it.

The afternoon was a different story. Not one of the remaining customers bought anything, and wet clothes and soggy shoes did not add to my cheerfulness. What little I may have had disappeared before my last call, I fear. This kind of weather makes me feel as if I was living in the trenches with water up to my knees, and without the consolation of shooting some enemy. I feel very much riddled myself, and, if it were not for the fact that I have given hostages to fortune, I would cease this peripatetic life, even if it does make one a sort of philosopher.

Friday.

Homeward bound! The hurrying throngs of New York are left behind, and we have rounded the curve at Spuyten Duyvil and straightened out for the long run to Albany. How quickly the electric locomotive picks up speed! Within a few train lengths we are rushing along at forty-five miles an hour, if the rail clicks tell a truthful story.

Through Yonkers with scarcely a slowdown, city on one side and busy yards, sugar mills, and factories on the other. With a rumble and roar we pass under the Bridge of Sighs that leads to Sing Sing prison. If I had the power, I should like to take out a few fellows, hit or miss, and dump in about a dozen I know for life, solitary confinement, and tar and feathers each day. One of them is a man who always promises to buy goods but never does. His final end should be in boiling oil—before it goes up in price.

We are slowing down for Harmon, where we change from electricity to steam. Here Croton Point stretches like a finger far out toward the other shore, which at this point seems five miles away. To the right, through a tangle of marsh grass, flows the Croton River—or what is left of it after supplying New Yorkers with baths and (in these days) drink. An unweaned youngster is yelling vociferously for his dinner. Ah, he is now getting it, thank Heaven, and he has made the rest of us as happy as himself.

At the Highlands I go to the observation platform to enjoy fully the most wonderful ten-mile stretch of railway in the East. Around jagged rocks, the buttresses of hills torn in some cataclysm of nature, a plunge into a tunnel and a burst into bright sunshine again, a twisting and a turning like some writhing serpent until the reverse curve at West Point, when we gradually quicken again to real speed. Forty miles, forty-five, fifty, sixty, and even sixty-five miles an hour between Beacon and Poughkeepsie. A wonderful gorge this—a slice cut out of the rock to let the waters through. Old Dame Nature never tries the same method twice. She varies in countless ways to build up or to tear down, and every way has its own fascination, its own beauty, its own grandeur.

The valley begins to open up, and as we pass Kingston we have a clear sweep of twelve miles to the Catskills, now bathed in the gold of the setting sun. Above us are clouds of purple and violet and orange; beside us is the silver river, now quiet as a mill-pond; and on the near-by hills the foliage, rich and heavy, adds just the needed somber to the riot of sunset colors. From the marshy river-bank a startled crane, with his head sunk back on his shoulders, wings his heavy flight toward the darkening east. In the distance sharp details of landscape become a blur in evening haze. From the mountains comes a chill, and the platform is soon deserted.

Happy faces are the rule in trains. I presume the feeling of "homeward bound" shines out, as it should. What a queer world this would be, indeed, if there were none to greet us! There looms the Capitol amid the city's lights. Now for a leisurely taking down of bag and coat. Not too fast, for that would show excitement unbecoming in one so staid. Every one is laughing and talking and crowding to the door as we slowly pull across the river. Down the platform and under tracks to the station. There *she* is with eyes softly aglow, a tender smile of welcome, and a shy—a very shy—kiss, with mantling cheek.

"Home, Thomas, and don't stop at every corner for passengers."

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

DEEPENING THE FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. A BOOK AND A MAN[1]

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

THERE are two events of seemingly incidental importance in the mighty onrush of our times which have recently attracted my attention as an interested student of public affairs. One is the publication of a little book called "The Responsible State," by Professor Franklin H. Giddings, and the other is the completion by Professor Giddings, at the late Commencement, of twenty-five years of service in the Department of Political Science at Columbia University—an event which was celebrated by a dinner and a programme of appreciation on the part of the F. H. G. Club, composed of admiring and grateful former students from different parts of the country.

This distinguished teacher and thinker is best known as a sociologist. Sociology is even now supposed to be the mental pabulum of queer people. When Giddings began to expound it so powerfully twenty-five years ago, newspaper editors, Wall Street folks, and some others believed that there must be something essentially peculiar and unsound and unsafe about the man. For quite a period he was on the Index Expurgatorius of more than one metropolitan newspaper staff, by special order.

He is now regarded by most men of insight as one of the most cautious and profound philosophical thinkers of our day. There is much research yet to be wrought out before sociology is precisely delimited or mastered, but Giddings has given the study a statistical and scientific standing among educated men which can never be taken away. He has grounded his philosophy of progress, not only or chiefly in the great subconscious evolutionary forces of the world, but in a deep analysis of the psychology of mankind and the free forces of the human spirit.

This is what makes his thinking so valuable to political science. He has made sociology a natural introduction to politics by revealing the influences which shape political movements, which determine what they shall be and how they shall work out. He does not forget that we are ever in the presence of great evolutionary forces, but the core of his teaching is that the time has now come in human progress when the free mind of man may, to some extent, modify and direct the great evolutionary forces, and to a degree never before possible in the history of the world. His emphasis is always upon the value of trained human centers of deliberation to forestall political and social hysteria and disaster. He is a true democrat in that he has no faith in any democracy which is not guided and molded by a natural aristocracy of mind and character. Such a philosphy was never more needed than now, when a blind wave of anarchistic democracy is sweeping across the world.

His students for a long generation have been prepared to estimate the quality and the worth of the illegitimate democracy which comes out of Moscow. Ultra-radicalism, to minds at once conservative and shallow, appears to mean the attempt to establish certain objective qualities among men. That is not what it means to Giddings. With him the most radical and dangerous error in politics is the assumption that all men, having been endowed by a democratic state with equal power to vote, are therefore equally competent to hold office and to rule. His students for a long generation have understood that this unsound dogma lay at the heart of the shirt-sleeves democracy of Andrew Jackson; that it is the taint of the Industrial Workers of the World and of Bolshevists everywhere; that it was the peril of the leadership of Schmitz in San Francisco, of Blease in South Carolina, of Ben Butler in Massachusetts, of Sulzer in New York, as it is of Lenine in Russia.

Giddings has long expounded and confounded the ideas of an unintelligent, impetuous, and ultra-radical democracy. The vice of this sort of a democracy is that, whether it confesses to the indictment or not, it really believes as strongly in subjective equality as it does in objective equality. It denies that some are by nature of nobler mold and greater ability than others. It knows nothing of the laws of heredity. It attributes the variability in efficiency and behavior among men merely to differences in culture and to inequalities of opportunity. Quick to take advantage of the ruin and chaos which absolutism and divine right have brought upon the world, anarchistic democracy proclaims the revolution and the torch and an end of natural as well as privileged aristocracy.

Giddings's political philos ophy is neither absolutism nor radicalism. It is democratic republicanism, which has so recently proved itself capable of saving and safeguarding the priceless values of civilization. Democratic republicanism distributes political power with approximate equality. It seeks to establish even-handed justice. It imposes public burdens chiefly upon those who have the ability to bear them. It provides educational opportunity for all. It strives to protect the health and strength of the population. It curbs and finally abolishes privilege. It goes far to achieve approximate equality of economic opportunity. But it does not accept the dogma that men are subjectively equal. It knows they are unequal, physiologically, mentally, and morally. As it grows wiser, it looks about for exceptional men to perform legislative, administrative, and judicial tasks. It ungrudgingly acknowledges their superiority and listens to their counsel. It puts and keeps them in positions of authority and power.

"The Responsible State" is the liberty-loving and resolute American professor's answer to the cringing and corrupting German professor's philosophy of the arbitrary and absolute state. The state is the finest creation of the human mind, but it is neither arbitrary nor absolute. It is finite, relative, responsible. It has its origins in the developments of human behavior, in a growing toleration, liberty, associated feeling, mutual helpfulness, on the part of the many, and in an awesome and more or less subconscious sense, on the part of the many, of the need of the far-seeing and superior few in positions of influence and authority. The responsible state is a living population engaged in political experimentation, safeguarding the commonwealth, protecting property right, enforcing contracts, fostering the enterprises of civilization, but also ameliorating the social and economic lot of man.

The responsible state is organized civilization. In organized civilization the survival of the fit does not mean the survival of the brutal, as the German grotesquely misapprehends. The fit are those who are adapted to the environment in which they live. If the environment is the jungle, then ferocity and cruelty are worth while. But if we mean civilized human society, which is a moral environment, then honor, intelligence, justice, good faith, are the fittest to survive.

For a quarter of a century at Columbia Giddings has maintained a seminar in the problems of progress. The personal relations established there with his students have been close and intimate, and he has grown a crop of able disciples. Out of his very first seminar group came men like Ripley, of Harvard; the Rosewaters, of the Omaha "Bee;" young Francis Walker, the economist; and Hamilton Holt, of the "Independent." And their kind has not failed in the succeeding years. Giddings has exploded intellectual dynamite in the consciousness of his pupils and quickened them into new and more powerful periods of growth. His whimsical and deliberate class-room method of shock and exaggeration has been delightful, but nobody was ever misled by it. It was too cool and calculated for that. The Anarchist, said he one day, is a man who wants law and government for nobody and nothing. The Socialist is a man who wants law and government for everybody and everything. And the individualist is a man who wants law and government for everybody but himself and his own affairs. Exaggerated, but striking and illuminating.

A man thinking—that is Giddings; and a prophet, not so much by instinct as by far-seeing insight into what must happen because human forces are what they are and human nature is what it is. Like Cramb, of the University of London, Giddings foresaw and expected the great war through which we have passed. When the Kaiser of Germany gave his parting brutal instructions to his soldiers who were going to China, Giddings wrote an editorial for one of the leading magazines to which he was accustomed to contribute, declaring that before that man died the world would have to reckon with him. It was thought to be unwise to commit the magazine to such views, and the editorial was returned.

Giddings is a genuinely American political philosopher. His doctrine of surplus might normally overflowing into right explains America. And it explains the abnormality and final impotence of German might. With Giddings only might makes right; not brute might, not Prussian might, but might overflowing into the rational channels of progress and service, into honor and mercy and fidelity and human

[1] The Responsible State—A Re-examination of Fundamental Political Doctrines in the Light of the World War and the Menace of Anarchism. By Franklin H. Giddings, Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization in Columbia University, and Sometime Professor of Political Science in Bryn Mawr College. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

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comprehension and world brotherhood—this sort of might makes right, and nothing else can make it. And that is the real America, the America that is always fighting to put democracy into the saddle of government at home against all odds. It is the America of the Civil War, of the Spanish War. It is the America in China and in France.

But neither the book nor the man is blind to the administrative and superficial thoughtlessness of America.

> "Of all the follies that the human mind can be guilty of," he holds, "the least excusable is to put trust in an inadequate army. Let us either accept the pacifist contention, lay down our arms, and trust in the sufficiency of sweetness and light to save us from the blood-lust of the supersavage, or, believing that the supersavage can be restrained only by the kind of might that he is capable of understanding, let us make it mighty enough to restrain him."

But, take her all in all, America has justified, with all her faults, the rigorous philosophy of this distinguished teacher and thinker. She has justified his theory of what we may expect in a crisis from the spontaneous power, the individual initiative, and the quick voluntary co-operation of free peoples. Over against the thirty-five hundred German professors and lecturers who servilely bowed the knee to the savior of *Kultur*, America is happy in a reasonable number of devoted and daring men in professorial chairs who have never bowed the knee to Baal; who dwell upon the mountain-tops of vision, but who know practically the psychology and the behavior of the people in the plain; who rebuke and spare not their countrymen in error, but interpret truly the inner spirit and the direction of movement of the American democracy.

THE NEW BOOKS

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Anatole France. By Lewis Piaget Shanks. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.

Convention and Revolt in Poetry. By John Livingston Lowes. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Faces in the Fire, and Other Fancies. By F. W. Boreham. The Abingdon Press, New York.

Fighting for a New World. By Charles William Dabney. The Abingdon Press, New York.

Higher Powers of Mind and Spirit (The). By Ralph Waldo Trine. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Home and the World (The). By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Translated. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Mushrooms on the Moor. By F. W. Boreham. The Abingdon Press, New York.

What is America? By Edward Alsworth Ross, Ph.D., LL.D. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Pilgrim in Palestine (A). By John Finley. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Book of the National Parks (The). By Robert Sterling Yard. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

This is the latest and most complete account of our National Parks. Mr. Yard is connected with the Department of the Interior; he is an enthusiast in out-of-door matters, and he knows his subject thoroughly. There is much in his book which has not appeared elsewhere, and it is written in a way which takes it entirely out of the class of manuals and guide-books and gives it literary effectiveness and entertaining quality.

Prowling About Panama. By George A. Miller. Illustrated. The Abingdon Press, New York.

BIOGRAPHY

Life of Theodore Roosevelt (The). By William Draper Lewis, Ph.D. Introduction by William Howard Taft. Illustrated. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia.

Story of General Pershing (The). By Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Theodore Roosevelt: The Boy and the Man. By James Morgan. Illustrated. Second Edition. The Macmillan Company, New York.

THE A. E. F. TO T. R.

(From "Service and Sacrifice")

BY CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

Gone is the joy,—gone is the thrill of returning,
We who had longed to share with you all our laurels,
To lay them at the feet of our great companion;—
Hushed is rejoicing!

Never again to see the light from your window
Shining across the land that you loved and inspired,—
"Put out the light," you said, and slept; but not dreaming
The darkness for others.

You, our leader, but more, our greatest companion—
Near enough for the spur of your voice and your hand grip,
Ever ready to share, but sharing, still leading
Upward and onward.

Listen! This is our pledge, to fare and to follow,
Follow the trail you blazed, without shadow of turning,—
We, who have learned of you, shall not be found wanting
Here or hereafter!

POETRY

Service and Sacrifice. By Corinne Roosevelt Robinson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Some of the best poetry that has come from Mrs. Robinson's gifted pen is to be found in this volume. Noteworthy above all others are the poems writen in memory of her brother, Theodore Roosevelt. "Valiant for Truth," "The A. E. F. to T. R." (republished on this page), and "To My Brother" are poems not soon to be forgotten by those who share in the heritage of the one she truly calls "our greatest companion." It is to be regretted that the effect of the volume as a whole is marred by the inclusion of some rather mediocre versified characterizations which at best are only mildly amusing.

Sailor Town: Sea Songs and Ballads. By C. Fox Smith. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Small Craft: Sailor Ballads and Chantys. By C. Fox Smith. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

Verse for Patriots: To Encourage Good Citizenship. Compiled by Jean Broadhurst, A.M., Ph.D., and Clara Lawton Rhodes, A.M. Illustrated. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

War Verse. Edited by Frank Foxcroft. The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Wild Swans at Coole (The). By W. B. Yeats. The Macmillan Company, New York.

SCIENCE

Inventions of the Great War. By A. Russell Bond. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York.

Mason-Wasps (The). By J. Henri Fabre. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

This is the ninth volume of Fabre's "Souvenirs Entomologiques" to be issued in English, and the second volume devoted to wasps. Fabre puts the magic of his personality into this study so pervadingly that behind the scientific account of the insect we always see the charming portrait of the man. The book thus has a double interest.

Our First Airways: Their Organization, Equipment, and Finance. By Claude Grahame-White and Harry Harper. Illustrated. The John Lane Company, New York.

Realities of Modern Science (The). An Introduction for the General Reader. By John Mills. The Macmillan Company, New York.

FICTION

Far-Away Stories. By William J. Locke. The John Lane Company, New York.

Judging by this collection, Mr. Locke's short stories are as good in one way as his novels are in quite another. "The Scourge," for instance, is a notably powerful bit of fiction. Delightful is the little sketch "Shadow Friends," in which the author tells of the war work of some of the people in his novels—Doggie and Jeanne of "The Rough Road," Septimus, Paragot, Marcus Ordeyne, and others.

From Father to Son. By Mary S. Watts. The Macmillan Company, New York.

One may always depend on Mrs. Watts for sound character depiction. Here members of the family react differently to the discovery that the grandfather made a fortune in the Civil War by selling rubbish as drugs to the Government at an enormous profit. Is the money still "tainted"? is the question. In the main the many people of the family are agreeable and refined and their ways of living and thinking are pleasantly told. A good novel for quiet, leisurely, vacation reading.

You Never Saw Such a Girl. By George Weston. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

A simple, amusing tale of the romance and adventures encountered by the girl referred to in the title and an older woman on a vacation trip undertaken in a light motor delivery wagon. Light but jolly.

MISCELLANEOUS

Grizzly (The). By Enos A. Mills. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

"In the grizzly bear's territory I have camped alone and unarmed. I have trailed the grizzly without a gun. I have repeatedly been outwitted by him, but never has he attacked me. I consider him in most respects the greatest animal on the North American continent, if not in the world." Could any animal lover, after reading thus far in this book, fail to follow the pages to the end of the trail? The author writes in an informal, conversational style, and his book is full of entertaining anecdote and information.

Good Manners and Right Conduct. By Gertrude E. McVenn. 2 vols. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Management and Men. A Record of New Steps in Industrial Relations. By Meyer Bloomfield. The Century Company, New York.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP IN THE SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

Based on The Outlook of August 13, 1919

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: The Pronouncement of the Railway Brotherhoods; President Wilson and the Railway Problems; The Plumb Plan; Objections to it.

Reference: Pages 561, 562, 564.

Questions:

1. Make an analysis of the pronouncement made by the representatives of the Railway Brotherhoods and the Plumb Plan, keeping in mind the following headings: (*a*) Causes leading them to make the statements; (*b*) Their proposal and the objections they think it meets; and (*c*) Alleged benefits and advantages. 2. Name and explain The Outlook's objections to the Plumb Plan. Discuss whether these objections are reasonable and sound. 3. Where would the money come from to finance the buying of the railways by the Government? Show why this is a very important question. Had you money to invest, would you buy Government bonds called for by the Plumb Plan? Reasons. 4. The Outlook believes that "it will not do to treat the Brotherhoods' plan in an antagonistic spirit." Why not? 5. Should the Plumb Plan be defeated? Will it be defeated by simply picking flaws in it? Do negative oppositions usually win? 6. The Plumb Plan is unopposed by any positive or constructive plan for the solution of our railway problem. For more than a year the American public has been waiting for the solution of this problem. Has there been time enough to think out this question? Who is to blame for not solving it? 7. Discuss whether there is lack of political leadership in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Be specific and support your opinion. If such leadership is wanting, what is your explanation? 8. If you don't like the Plumb Plan, present a better one. It is your duty to think constructively on this problem. Do you know why? 9. Tell, with reasons, what you think of each of the following criticisms of the Brotherhoods' proposal: (*a*) "It is radical;" (*b*) "It is an adventure into Soviet economics;" (*c*) "It is revolutionary;" (*d*) "It spells class dictation;" (*e*) "It offers the hope of a finer life for laboring people;" (*f*) "It would mean that hereafter there would be no more watered railway stocks." 10. Discuss at length whether those engaged in essential industries should "participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare." 11. Do we have industrial democracy in the United States? Tell why or why not? 12. Is the American Government designed to respond quickly to public will? 13. Every one interested in the relation of industry to politics should read "The Politics of Industry," by Glenn Frank (Century); "Man to Man," by John Leitch (Forbes); "Instincts in Industry," by Ordway Tead (Houghton, Mifflin).

B. Topic: Race Riots in Chicago.

Reference: Pages 566, 567.

Questions:

1. Describe the race riots in Chicago. 2. What are the causes of these riots? Give other causes than those mentioned by Mr. Holman. 3. Name the results of these riots and discuss their significance. 4. Name and discuss the lessons to be drawn from such tragedies. 5. Can you propose "a constructive plan for whites and blacks to dwell together in amity"? Reasons. 6. Are American Negroes entitled to all the political and economic rights that other American citizens are entitled to? Do they enjoy such rights? Discuss. 7. State and explain your attitude about social recognition of the Negro. 8. Are all men created equal?

C. Topic: Will Hays.

Reference: Pages 569, 570.

Questions:

1. Describe the sort of man Will Hays is. 2. Senator Davenport speaks of a "genuine gentleman." What are the characteristics of such a man? 3. Professor Davenport refers to "the Old Guard of Republicanism" and "the ruling Republican dynasty in 1910 and 1912." Explain somewhat at length what he has reference to. 4. What is your opinion of the Republican party? Give reasons for it. 5. Mr. Hays is described as both a liberal and a conservative. Is this possible? 6. Explain how a person can be at the same time loyal both to a political party and to his country. 7. What lessons do you see in this article for Americans?

II—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

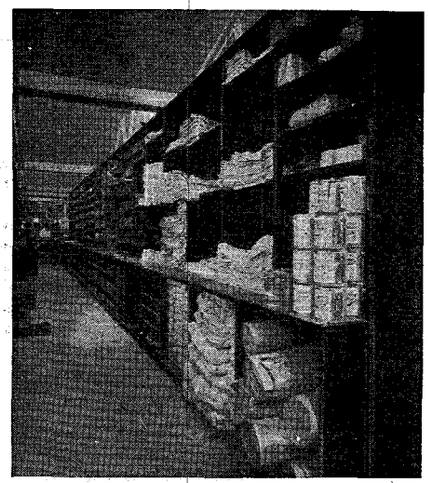
1. The Railway Brotherhoods have performed a great National service by bringing the high cost of living question to a crisis. 2. The interests of labor and the public in the railway question are identical. 3. Industry should be made a training school for self-government. 4. Government is a necessary evil.

III—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for August 13, 1919. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Corral, equinoxes, mentor (569); recalcitrancy, asininity (570).

DURAND
STEEL RACKS



THE customer of today is critical of service. He wants what he wants when he wants it.

One way to give it to him is to have a well arranged stock room. Durand Steel Racks—clean, space-saving, instantly adjustable—will help put the kind of "snap" into your deliveries that is appreciated.

Write for catalogue of steel racks, bins and counters, or of steel lockers for factories, clubs, etc.

DURAND STEEL LOCKER CO.
1573 Ft. Dearborn Bk. Bldg. Chicago
973 Vanderbilt Bldg. New York

AN APPEAL FOR WORKING-GIRLS

The Working-Girls' Vacation Society, having exhausted its available funds, asks its friends and the generous public for money to give a two weeks' vacation to many girls who are patiently waiting.

The list is a long one. If these girls can have the rest and change they need, they will be able to do more efficient work through the coming winter.

Who will help the Society to send these tired, hard-working girls to the country?

Forty dollars will pay board, traveling expenses, and medical care for a month at Santa Clara for girls who have a tendency to tubercular disease. Ten dollars will pay for a vacation of two weeks, also traveling expenses.

Contributions large and small may be sent to the office of the Society, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City, and will be gratefully acknowledged.

* * *

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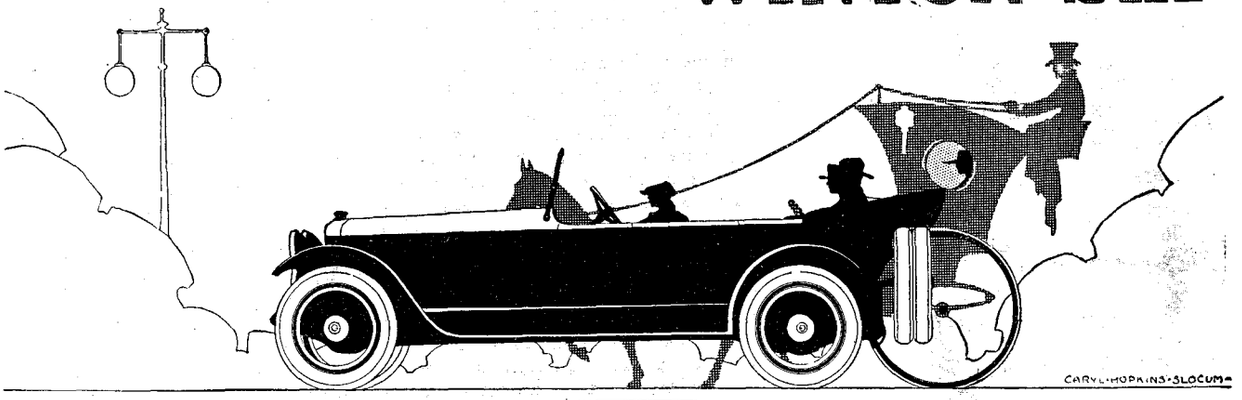
WINTON SIX

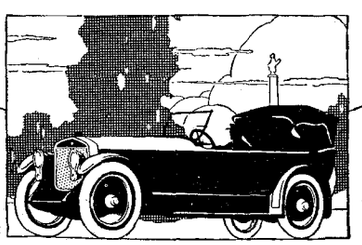


Desire Something Better?

BE glad if you have this desire, for it promotes invention and human progress, and produces the good things of life that make your world more glorious—like this magnificent new Winton Six.

Seeing this car, you will know that yesterday's cars are surpassed, that here are new thrills, new enjoyments, new happiness awaiting you. Beauty that captivates, power and speed that laugh at miles and hardest hills, comfort and style beyond previous "bests," a mechanism that harmonizes with your needs and stays in tune—all these are yours in this newest Winton Six, the surprise car of 1919. May we send you literature?

THE WINTON COMPANY
102 BEREA ROAD, CLEVELAND, O., U. S. A.



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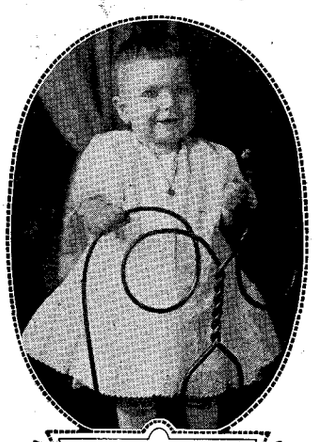
"We are advertised by our loving friends"



Lola A. E. Beeks,
Ashland, Ohio.

Prepare baby's food according to the

Mellin's Food Method of Milk Modification

Gerald R. McLaughlin,
Allegan, Mich.

Have you overlooked the advertisement on the inside of the front cover?

THE PHILIPPINES AND THE FILIPINOS

Permit me to express my surprise that a paper usually accurate and well informed should speak of Filipinos as a race, which The Outlook did in "Current Events Illustrated" of April 9. The Philippines are inhabited by a composite people almost as numerous and diverse in elements as are England and the United States.

The terraced mountain-sides which you picture show the relationship of certain mountain people of the Philippines to people of southern China, in Szechwan Province, to use the International Dictionary's spelling. The Philippine terraces are very like those to the westward on the Asiatic mainland, while the terraces on the islands to the north and to the south have less resemblance according to their remoteness from here, suggesting that there was an early direct immigration from the mainland, and that from here the migration continued in both directions through the Asiatic archipelago of which these islands are the middle. Then from the north there early came dwarf white people, the hairy Ainus of Japan, and from the south the stunted, kinky-haired, chocolate-complexioned people whom the Spaniards mistakenly called "Little Negroes," for probably the earliest African strain here came through the Spaniards.

Then centuries before the time of Christ the persecuted of India found refuge here, or rather the bolder spirits, for the less adventurous stopped in Java and Sumatra, and their countrymen kept coming for more than a thousand years. Refugees, too, came from China, and they kept coming even after the Spaniards had perpetrated several wholesale massacres, which speaks well for their courage. Japanese of the better class in large numbers exiled themselves here because they were Christians, and their descendants are still recognizable. Arabs likewise came not a few, as missionaries for Mohammedanism, and earlier commerce had brought Persian traders to make long stays in Philippine ports.

Spain exiled here from the homeland her liberal agitators, and sent here the discontented Mexicans, besides the Mexican and Spanish soldiers who came to garrison these islands.

Piracy, a respectable employment centuries ago, in which the Filipinos excelled, brought hosts of captives of those sailing along the Asiatic coast; and afterwards commerce, when Manila was the great port of the Orient, contributed to the melting-pot which has made a strong people who have in common boldness and an adventurous spirit.

Twenty years before the Spaniards came to Manila that capital had repulsed a Japanese invasion. The so-called Spanish conquest was really a conversion, Filipinos themselves doing all the fighting for the Spaniards. During Spain's third of a thousand years of alleged rule there were hundreds of insurrections, the people taking arms to redress grievances and laying them down on promise of reform, for they seem to have been as trusting as Samson was. Still, independence from the first was the object of some, and never did Spain really rule as much as a third of the territory. Hill people and Moros also joined with their Christian countrymen in these

Men's wear at McCutcheon's

Men's Sweaters

Reg. Trade Mark

Suitable Jackets for golf and motoring in brushed wool. With or without collar. Handsome heather colorings; popular shades. Prices **$10.50, 12.00** and **15.00.**

Mohair Jackets, high-grade garments of particular merit, **$19.50.**

Fancy Striped Alpaca Jackets—ideal for sport wear, **$18.00.** Sweater Vests, brushed wool in heather shades, **$10.50.**

MAIL ORDER SERVICE: *Any of the merchandise described above may be ordered with complete satisfaction through our Mail Order Service.*

James McCutcheon & Co.
Fifth Avenue, New York

There are 3 ways of getting The Outlook

One is to drop over every Wednesday evening to the home of some friend who subscribes for it.

One is to buy it at the newsdealer's every week for 10 cents a copy.

The other is to send $4 for a year's subscription to

The Outlook Company
381 Fourth Avenue, New York

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The Philippines and the Filipinos (Continued)

efforts, so that all the inhabitants of the archipelago are bound by the tie of a common history and aspiration.

They are really a creditable aggregation, these insular Americans, and worth studying. It is a pity that even their professed friends know little about them and ascribe all their virtues to progress during twenty years under the American flag. Great strides have been made, but because the country was awaiting such an opportunity and has made the most of it. Their great grievance has been that we have withheld from them the American system of government, in which they were anxious to have us as instructors, and instead have experimented at their expense with a colonial system about which they knew more than we did.

There may be foreign menaces to prevent independence, but one wonders why, without delay, they may not have their own governor-general after two decades under the American flag, when only five years gives rights of American citizenship to residents of foreign settlements in the larger American cities, whom we now know have shown much less eagerness to fit themselves. AUSTIN CRAIG.

University of the Philippines, Manila.

A TRIBUTE FROM AN ENGLISH SCHOLAR TO AMERICAN STUDENTS

You may like to put in The Outlook a copy of this letter I have written to these parting American soldier-students at Cambridge. They've been perfectly splendid, and we all love them. A. E. SHIPLEY,
Vice-Chancellor.

Christ's College Lodge, Cambridge.
June 23, 1919.

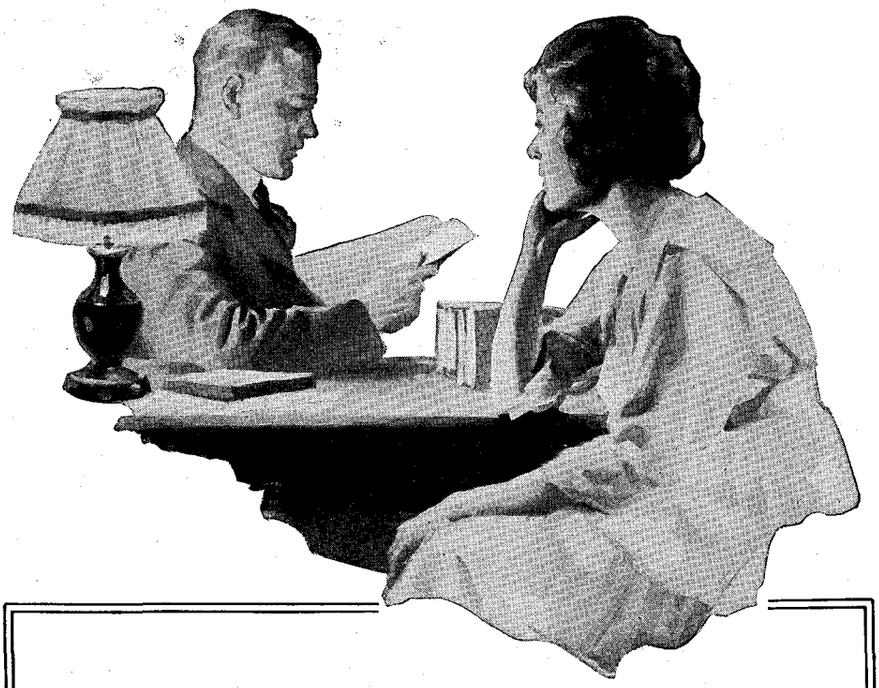
Christ's College Lodge, Cambridge.
June 12, 1919.

Dear Sir—I had hoped to say a personal word of good-by to the American soldier-students on the 11th, when the American Ambassador intended to be here. He was, however, detained in Paris, and the opportunity did not occur. May I, however, write you a word of thanks and of farewell? I am thankful to the American students for coming and living a few months amongst us. I want every American soldier-student to feel he has a second home in England; that he has a share in an ancient College in one of the oldest of the British Universities; and I want him to keep in touch with it.

If the United States and Great Britain can keep together in peace as they have done in war, nothing else matters.

Oh ye who in eternal youth
Speak with a living and creative blood
This universal English, and do stand
Its breathing book; live worthy of that grand
Heroic utterance—parted, yet a whole,
Far, yet unsever'd,—children brave and free
Of the great Mother-tongue, and ye shall be
Lords of an empire wide as Shakespeare's soul,
Sublime as Milton's immemorial theme,
And rich as Chaucer's speech, and fair as Spenser's dream.

Yours very cordially,
A. E. SHIPLEY,
Vice-Chancellor.



Study His Daily Food Need

The average man needs about 3000 calories of food per day. Most of that need is for energy food. But he also needs some 3½ ounces of protein, to build up and repair.

Figuring these elements only, here is what they cost at this writing in some necessary foods:

Cost of Protein *Per Pound*		Cost of Energy *Per 1000 Calories*	
In Quaker Oats	63c	In Quaker Oats	5c
In White Bread	$1.30	In Round Steak	41c
In Potatoes	1.48	In Veal Cutlets	57c
In Beef about	2.00	In Fish about	60c
In Ham	3.63	In Canned Peas	54c

Ten Times the Cost

Meat and fish foods, per 1000 calories, average ten times Quaker Oats' cost.

So do some vegetables. Squash, for instance, at this writing costs 15 times as much.

As energy food the oat has an age-old fame.

In protein—the costliest food element—it is richer than any other grain. It stands about equal with beefsteak.

In needed minerals—iron, lime, calcium, etc.—the oat is uniquely rich.

As an all-'round food, well-balanced, the oat is the greatest that grows. As a food for growing children it holds the zenith place.

Other foods are needed. Children must have milk and eggs. Vegetables are necessary.

But start the day with Quaker Oats. Make it your breakfast. It costs but one-half cent per dish.

This will supply supreme nutrition, and the saving will average up the costlier foods at dinner.

Quaker Oats

Extra-Flavory Flakes

Packed in Sealed Round Packages with Removable Cover

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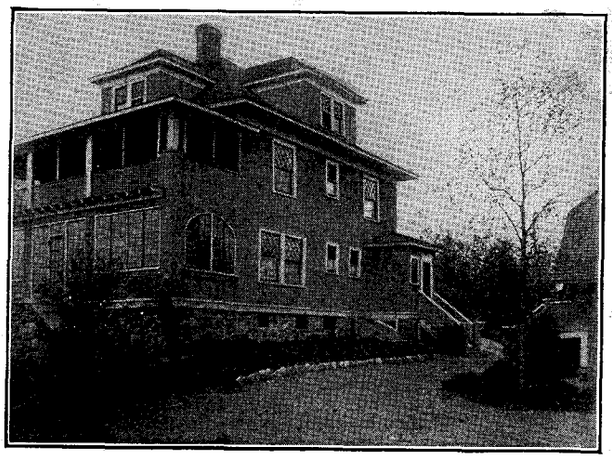
"Say it with Flowers"

For the Friend Who Is Ill. Send a message of cheer with flowers. Your thoughtfulness will hasten recovery. Remember that your local florist within a few hours can deliver fresh flowers in any city or town in the United States or Canada through the Florists' Telegraph Delivery Service.



For Sale
AT
Mountain Lakes
NEW JERSEY

45 minutes by the Lackawanna from Hoboken

House, 10 rooms, 3 bathrooms. First floor: entrance hall, steam-heated solarium, living-room, dining-room, butler's pantry, etc. Second floor: 4 large corner rooms, 2 bathrooms, inclosed sleeping-porch over solarium. Third floor: 4 rooms and bath. Electricity, steam heat. Two-car garage, living quarters above—100-gallon gasoline tank, buried. Plot, 150 ft. frontage on boulevard, about 170 ft. frontage on lake; 440 ft. from boulevard to lake. Ground gradually sloping toward lake. 800 ft. elevation. Excellent boating, bathing, and fishing. Location unusually attractive—an ideal all-year-round home. Price $20,000; satisfactory terms can be arranged. Inspection by appointment. Address F. C. H., care of The Outlook.

PARK HILL ON THE HUDSON, Yonkers, N. Y.

A most attractive property for sale. Two hundred feet frontage by one hundred and nineteen feet depth. Stone wall, beautiful trees and lawn, and delightful view of Hudson River and the Palisades. Charming twelve-room house, modern improvements, good repair. For terms and further information, address 867, Outlook.

BY THE WAY

A recently published historical sketch of Copp's Hill Burying Ground in Boston quotes many quaint and amusing epitaphs inscribed on the gravestones of that noted cemetery. Here is one:

"Stop here my friends & cast an eye,
As you are now, so once was I;
As I am now, so you must be,
Prepare for death and follow me."

A young wag is said to have added in chalk:

"To follow you I'm not content
Unless I know which way you went."

This epitaph has an Elizabethan quality:

"Beneath this stone doth lye
as much Virtue, as could dye,
Which when alive did vigor give,
to as much Beauty as could live."

The shortest epitaph is probably the following:

"In life respected
In death lamented."

An inscription of pathetic interest is that on the gravestone of Henry D. Emerson, aged 4:

"Like a bright flower he was cut down."

This boy was a contemporary of that other "wondrous child," Waldo Emerson, whose brief life and untimely death are celebrated in the "Threnody" of Ralph Waldo Emerson, his father.

Australia led the world during the war in the pay she gave to her soldiers. They received $43.50 a month. New Zealand came next, her men receiving $36.60 a month. Canada followed with $33 a month. The United States gave her soldiers $30 a month. British Tommies got $11.40, French poilus $1.50, Austrian privates 98 cents, Japanese privates 78 cents, while Italian privates were at the bottom of the list with 58 cents a month. German privates received $3 a month.

A medical journal prints this "awful knock" from a pupil nurse's examination paper on sanitation and hygiene:

Question: Name some of the advantages of hospital clinics.

Answer: Clinics in large hospitals enable poor people to get free medical attention and many infectious diseases.

A clever retort, by which a Washington newspaper man turned the tables on the Senators, is quoted in the New York "Evening Sun." The "Sun's" correspondent was coming down a stairway at the Capitol marked "For Senators only" when he was seen by a crowd of seminary girls sightseeing in the Capitol. "I guess that must be one of the Senators," said one of the girls in a loud whisper. "They don't look much, do they?" The correspondent overheard the remark and neatly countered by approaching the girls and saying, good-humoredly: "No, young ladies, I am not a Senator, but if you think I don't look much, you ought to see some of the real Senators."

"Talk about high prices!" said the storekeeper in a small town in Maine. "For years I sold porterhouse steak over that counter at two pounds for a quarter. Now I have to ask fifty-five cents a pound for it. We were the first firm in our town to get one of those automatic price-registering scales—before the war. We had it register from one cent to eighteen cents a pound. My partner said, when we got it, 'We'll have little use for the highest figure there.' That was when cheese was twelve cents a pound, sugar four, and

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By the Way (Continued)

crackers eight. Now we have little use for those scales at all—everything is above eighteen cents."

A jovial Roman Catholic priest recently told this story in a company gathered around the camp-fire: Aaron Isaac's store was in a Catholic neighborhood and wasn't doing well. Isaac concluded that his creed was the trouble and went to the priest. The priest admitted him to the Church and christened him MacIsaac. A short time afterward MacIsaac invited the priest to dine with him. A fine roast duck graced the board. The priest raised his hands in horror. "Why, MacIsaac," he said, "this is Friday, and a good Catholic eats only fish on Friday." "Oh, father, forgive me, I forgot," said MacIsaac. "What can I do—we'll have no dinner!" The priest thought a moment. "Mac," he said, "we won't sacrifice our dinner. Duck! duck!" he exclaimed, extending his hands, "I christen thee hadduck!"

In an article on "Some Experiences in Neurologic Therapeutics" Dr. C. K. Mills, of the University of Pennsylvania, tells of various obsessions, including some in which, he asserts, patients and physicians attribute mental maladies to the teeth. He says: "One of my medical friends had a rather interesting experience in connection with this subject. An old gentleman had suffered with pain in the region of the sacro-iliac synchondrosis. A consultation came about with a physician and a roentgen-ray specialist, and one of the consultants without any examination of the mouth or jaws expressed the opinion that a probable source of the trouble would be found in abscesses at the root of the patient's teeth. My friend, after allowing him to go on with his dissertation a short time, said casually, 'It may be, but I must remark that our patient hasn't had a tooth in his head for five years.'"

At a recent meeting of British journalists the chairman told the following story: "I met a newspaper man to-day who came to Fleet Street twenty years ago with exactly 25*s.* in his pocket. He is now worth £40,000. He owes that entirely to his own ability and energy, combined with good health and a high code of ethics—and to the fact that an uncle recently died and left him £39,995."

The lawyer was cross-examining a witness to a robbery. "When did the robbery take place?" he asked. "I think—" began the witness. "We don't care what you think, sir. We want to know what you know." "Then if you don't want to know what I think, I may as well leave the stand. I can't talk without thinking. I'm not a lawyer."

Is there anything that the enterprising trader is unwilling to invest in with a chance of possible profit? One might think that gas masks, of all things, would be unsalable in these days. Yet a New York newspaper contains this item among things offered for sale:

200 gas masks, rejected by U. S. inspectors.

Another queer advertisement in the same paper announces:

Invisible face rouge, stands sea bathing, 50c.

A British provincial paper carries this advertisement, which indicates much faith in human nature:

Will man who got paid twice for Two Polly Heifers at Thomastown Fair on 3d June communicate at once with C., —— ——.

To Those Who Want Cleaner Teeth

All Statements Approved by High Dental Authorities

You Must Remove the Film

Your teeth are not rightly cleaned if they discolor or decay, if tartar forms or pyorrhea starts.

You may brush them twice daily, but the great tooth wrecker—a slimy film—is not being ended by it.

The cause of most tooth troubles is an ever-present film. You feel it with your tongue. That is what discolors—not your teeth. It is the basis of tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. So it is that film, not merely food debris, which the tooth brush must combat.

The tooth brush alone is inadequate. The film is clinging. It gets into crevices, hardens and stays. The old methods of teeth cleaning fail to dissolve it.

Dental science, after many years of searching, has found a way to combat it. Able authorities have proved this fact by convincing clinical tests. Leading dentists everywhere accept it.

This way is now embodied in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And we gladly supply a 10-Day Tube for anyone to test.

A Ten-Day Revelation

We ask you to try it, to watch its effects, then look at your teeth in ten days. It will change all your ideas on teeth cleaning.

Pepsodent is based on pepsin, the digestant of albumin. The film is albuminous matter. The object of Pepsodent is to dissolve it, then to constantly combat it.

This way is made possible by a new discovery. A harmless method has been found to activate the pepsin. Five governments have already granted patents. The old activating agent was an acid, harmful to the teeth. And Pepsodent must be activated.

We urge you to prove Pepsodent as dentists prove it—by actual application. See the results, read the reasons for them, and decide for yourself about it.

Send the coupon for a 10-Day Tube. Use like any tooth paste. Note how clean the teeth feel after using. Mark the absence of the slimy film. See how teeth whiten as the fixed film disappears.

Do this for your sake and your children's sake. Learn the better way to clean teeth. The results will show you very quickly that this way is right. Cut out the coupon now.

Pepsodent PAT. OFF. REG. U.S.

The New-Day Dentifrice

A scientific tooth paste based on activated pepsin. An efficient film combatant, now endorsed by dentists everywhere and sold by druggists in large tubes.

(185)

Ten-Day Tube Free

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Dept. 549, 1104 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
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Name.....

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extension of same tour. Write for itinerary.

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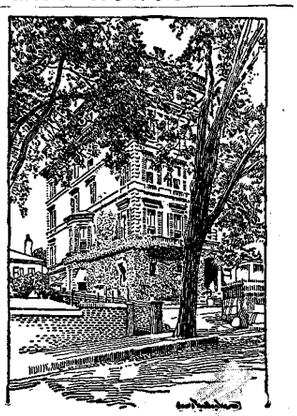
In famous Rangeley region in heart of mountains facing lake. Private log cabins with open fires and baths. Central dining-room. Golf within easy reach; garage. Boating, bathing, fishing, mountain climbing. Farm one mile from camp furnishes fresh vegetables, eggs, poultry, certified milk. Booklet. **J. I. [illegible]VIS YORK, Prop.**

MASSACHUSETTS



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THE LESLIE
A quiet, cozy little house by the sea
PRIVATE BATHS. Descriptive booklet.

Rock Ridge Hall, Wellesley Hills, Mass. Fine location. Large, breezy, screened piazza. Running water in bedrooms. Private baths. Eggs, berries, cream, chicken. Rates moderate.

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The Best Hotel in the City. In front of the Beautiful Cathedral and Flower Market.
MEXICO CITY, MEXICO
All modern conveniences.

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Combines every convenience and home comfort, and commends itself to people of refinement wishing to live on American Plan and be within easy reach of social and dramatic centers.
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Keene Valley, N. Y.
On direct trail to Mt. Marcy, very heart of Mts. Illustrated booklet giving description of Keene Valley and the Lodge sent on request. $15 and $18 a week. M. E. LUCK.

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For Mental and Nervous Diseases
Comfortable, homelike surroundings; modern methods of treatment; competent nurses. 15 acres of lawn, park, flower and vegetable gardens. Food the best. *Write for booklet.*
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LINDEN **The Ideal Place for Sick People to Get Well**
Doylestown, Pa. An institution devoted to the personal study and specialized treatment of the invalid. Massage, Electricity, Hydrotherapy. Apply for circular to ROBERT LIPPINCOTT WALTER, M.D. (late of The Walter Sanitarium)

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Overlooking Ocean
All winter proposition. Responsible retired professional gentleman, having large house within hour of New York City, desires few others of equal standing to join in co-operative plan in living simply and sanely and in accord with the reasonable features only of the noted health resorts of Europe and America. Those really ill or believing they need medical attention need not respond. But any feeling that such conditions can without undue expense easily be avoided may find it advantageous to address 877, Outlook.

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Colonial home on hilltop. Delightful view of country and Lake Ontario. Electric lights, bathroom, excellent table. On State road, three miles from Oswego. Miss ALICE E. PERRY, Fruit Valley R. F. D., Oswego, N. Y.

Real Estate

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309-Acre Holstein Stock Farm
$12,000. $5,000 cash
25 head of Holstein cattle, several registered; one pair good horses, 50 tons of hay now in the barn, 16 acres of crops, all kinds of farming tools and machinery. Farm of 309 acres, half cultivating, apple orchard, good pasture, 10-room house, large barns, silo; 1,000 feet elevation; good view; 4 miles from station. Will produce $6,000 worth of milk a year. A farm you may be proud to own. Write for photos. J. CASSIDY, Woodbury, Conn.

MASSACHUSETTS

For Sale *College boarding house in* **Northampton, Mass.,** near **Smith College campus,** doing an excellent business. For further particulars write OWNER, 901, Outlook.

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Site and Buildings of Successful Camp
Beautiful, safe, secluded. On well-known New Hampshire lake. Price moderate. Address Camp, P. O. Box 1,592, Philadelphia, Pa.

Real Estate

NEW YORK CITY

ATTRACTIVE STUCCO
TWO FAMILY, Fourteen Room Dwelling. Nice residential section, suburbs of New York City. Half hour Grand Central; also near subway. Hot water heat, gas, etc. Plot 50 x 100. Garages. Price $9,500. Full particulars from owner, 9,815, Outlook.

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Beautiful Farm Home
FOR SALE
234 acres, including 30 acres woodland, 6 miles from Hudson, N. Y. and N. Y. C. station, 1¼ miles from B. & A. station, 3 miles from Harlem station. Rural delivery and telephone. 12-room house with bath, hot-water heat, open fireplaces, large Colonial halls, large veranda. Large lawn, beautiful shade trees. Fine view Catskill Mts. and Hudson Valley. Small cottage on place. 300 pear trees, 175 apple trees, fruit of all kinds. Large barns, poultry houses, carriage houses, garage, and windmill. Running water in all fields. Address WILBER SMITH
Hudson, Columbia Co., N. Y., R. F. D. 1.

FOR SALE 14-room house at Nyack, N. Y.
Corner plot, 105x165. Gas, electricity, open plumbing, hot-water heat, garage, flowers, fruit, vegetables. $6,000. Inquire P. W. BABCOCK, 11 Broadway, New York.

Shelter Island Heights, L. I.
FOR SALE—10-Room House
Two bathrooms. All modern improvements. Well furnished throughout. In perfect order. Large porches. R. FECHTETER.

BOARD AND ROOMS

REFINED lady, away frequent week ends, desires, September 5, pleasant outside (non-court) furnished room, with congenial cultured people; no other roomers. Immediate vicinity of 156th St. and Broadway, N. Y. C. Permanent. $5. 7,252, Outlook.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

WANTED—450 Outlook readers to represent this publication this summer—and all through the year, if you like. You can easily earn $10 a week and more, simply by using an hour or two a day of your spare time. If you want extra spending money—and everybody does—write us for details of the Outlook's co-operative profit plan. Simply address Representatives' Division, Desk E, The Outlook, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City.

WANTED—A party to buy a half interest in a blueberry tract in Washington County, Maine. $6,000 required. Good interest on investment. Best of references given and references required. Inquire of Hillard C. Schoppe, 41 Fifth St., Bangor, Maine.

FOR THE HOME

WILD blackberry jelly and other unusual delicacies. Alma Hibbard, Gansevoort, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

Business Situations

WANTED—Young, educated, unmarried woman, not nurse or matron, to help entertain and do shopping for women patients at small private hospital for mild mental and nervous affections. Wages $40 monthly and maintenance. State age, education, and give references. Address George H. Torney, 300 South Street, Brookline, Mass.

RAILWAY traffic inspector, $110 a month to start and expenses. Travel if desired. Unlimited advancement. No age limit. Three months' home study. Situation arranged. Prepare for permanent position. Write for booklet CM27 Standard Business Training Institute, Buffalo, N. Y.

WANTED—Superintendent for twenty-bed sanatorium caring for incipient tuberculosis patients. Give hospital training, references, and salary willing to start on in first letter. 7,267, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

HOUSEMOTHER wanted in Episcopal boys' boarding school near New York. Duties include general oversight of minor ailments, outside trained nurse being engaged for special difficulties. Salary $700 and living. Applications should give full details. 7,225, Outlook.

WANTED — MOTHER'S HELPER or WORKING HOUSEKEEPER. No maids kept, but outside help is furnished. House has all modern conveniences. Reply to Mrs. Estabrook, Deerfield, Mass.

WANTED—Young woman (Protestant) as attendant for little girls in boarding school. Sewing required. References. Address Box 305, Brattleboro, Vt.

WANTED—Mother's helper or governess, family of three children, seven to ten years, suburbs of New York City. Young woman with experience preferred. 7,249, Outlook.

WANTED, September 1, woman of intelligence and refinement to help in housework and be one of family living in Maplewood, N. J. Some knowledge of cooking. No heavy work. Salary adequate. Send reply to Mrs. O. G. Cocks, South Fairlee, Vermont.

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Competent teachers for public and private schools. Calls coming every day. Send for circulars. Albany Teachers' Agency, Albany, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED, August 24, governess for child four years old. American, Protestant. One who can speak French preferred. Permanent position if satisfactory. 7,179, Outlook.

WANTED, by September 15, tutor for three boys, ages 6, 9, and 13. Winter months spent in California. Must be experienced, unmarried, fond of athletics, and of Protestant faith, and have first-class recommendations. H. H. Timken, Canton, Ohio.

MONTESSORI or kindergarten-trained governess or experienced child's nurse for care of one child three years of age. Philadelphia suburb. Apply to Mrs. J. S. Reed, 220 Greenwood Ave., Jenkintown, Pa.

TEACHERS. Departmental arithmetic, also second grade. Colored day school, South; faculty white. Address Miss Beard, 916 Ontario St., Oak Park, Ill.

GOVERNESSES wanted, September 15, for physical care and entertainment pupils mentally backward out of school hours. No teaching nor household duties (eleven teachers, five governesses employed, twenty-four pupils received). Four hours free middle of day, all day monthly. Young, educated American, Protestant. Thirty-five monthly, including board, laundry, room alone. References, experience, age, church affiliation, personal interview. Seguin School, Orange, N. J.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

OSTEOPATHIC physician, lady, will nurse invalid. Will travel. Dr. Ellen Brooks, Madison, New Jersey. Box 233.

WANTED—Position as ASSISTANT MATRON and LECTURER in training school for nurses by graduate nurse holding R.N. in New York State. Had two years' overseas war work with Canadian Army Medical Corps. Will travel. Highest credentials. 7,256, Outlook.

Business Situations

CHAUFFEUR would like position with private family. Courteous and efficient. Seven years' experience with cars. References regarding character and ability. 7,240, Outlook.

OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT. Having closed own business, now filling prominent position temporarily near New York, lady executive is prepared to give efficient service from standpoint ownership management. Only high class resident educational interests need reply. 7,268, Outlook.

SECRETARIAL position requiring responsibility and initiative by college graduate. 7,254, Outlook.

LADY wishes position as manager of inn or apartment hotel. Would lease. 7,241, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

MATRON-housekeeper open for position in large school or institution. Practical and thoroughly experienced in all departments. Excellent references. 7,261, Outlook.

YOUNG woman with hospital experience would like nursing by September 1. 7,262, Outlook.

EDUCATED young woman, social secretary, traveling, general companion, experienced automobilist, desires position, refined surroundings. References. Interview. Secretary, 182 Beaumont St., Manhattan Beach, N. Y.

WANTED—Position in children's home by ex-army nurse experienced in care and training of children and institutional management. 7,248, Outlook.

POSITION wanted in institution as housemother. 7,247, Outlook.

SECRETARY-GOVERNESS, COMPANION. Young lady of culture, experienced secretary, unusual ability with children, good traveler, desires residential position. Best references exchanged. 7,253, Outlook.

POSITION wanted in California, in or near a city. Experienced supervising housekeeper. Select sanatorium, private family, small hotel, or apartment house. First-class recommendations for attention to details and character. 7,258, Outlook.

SOCIAL secretary and companion. University graduate, woman of culture and refinement. Will travel. 7,259, Outlook.

REFINED, capable middle-aged woman would like position as companion or housekeeper for one or two adults. Would travel or go South. References exchanged. 7,255, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

LADY in New York will tutor and also coach socially younger woman of good character and natural refinement. Confidential. 7,221, Outlook.

FRENCH woman, Ph.D., long experience in best colleges of U. S. and France, would assume whole responsibility of children's education and home. Adequate salary expected. 7,209, Outlook.

VASSAR graduate, Latin specialist, boarding school or tutor all subjects in private family. Will travel. 7,271, Outlook.

KINDERGARTNER wishes position in private school. Experience. References. 7,263, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

WANTED—Young women to take nine months' course in nursing. Frances Parker Memorial Home, New Brunswick, N. J.

MISS Guthman, New York shopper, will send anything on approval. Services free. References required. 309 West 99th St.

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With such ample facilities at our command, we shall, for the first time, be in position to supply the vastly increased demand for our products. And, as in the past, all of our buildings, all of our brains and all of our brawn will be dedicated to one task—the production of strictly high-grade motor vehicles that will outlive any guarantee that we might write for them.

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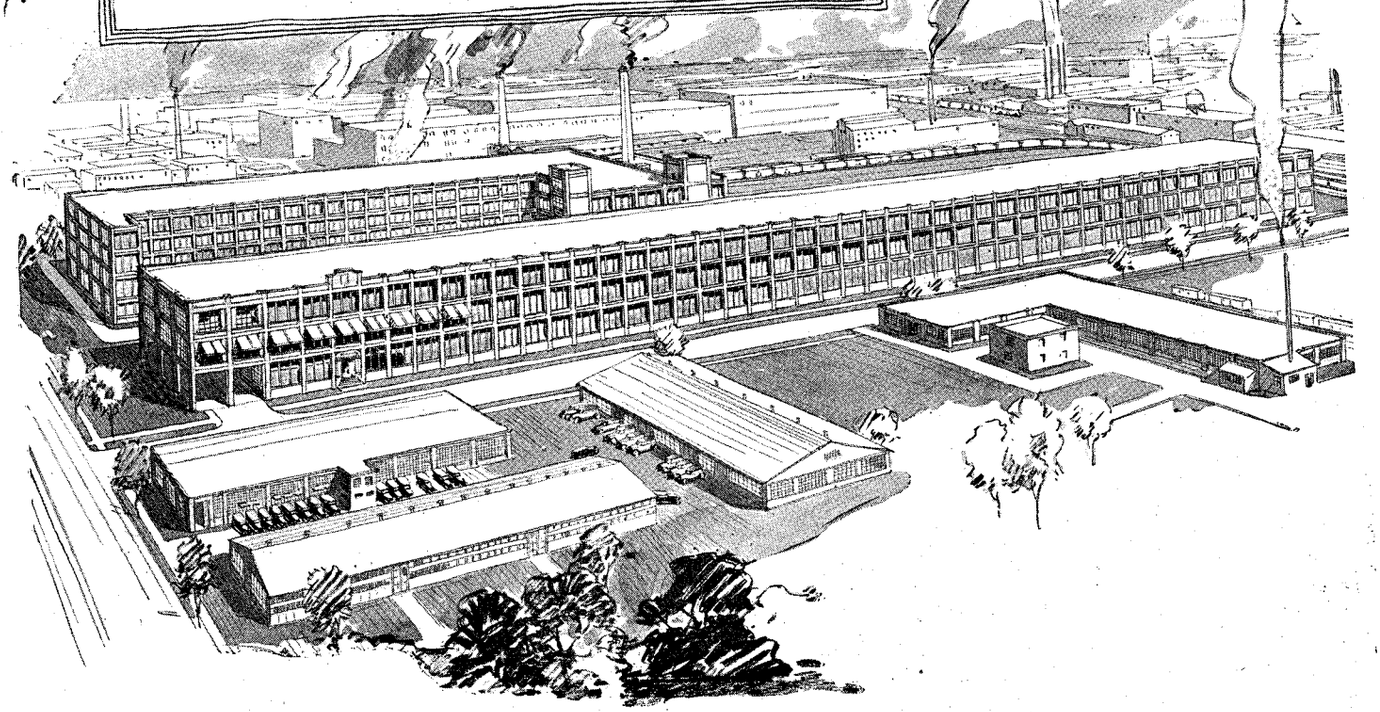

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THE OUTLOOK SCHOOL AND CAMP DIRECTORY

Many of the best private schools, colleges, correspondence schools, and camps are advertised in these columns. Each one issues descriptive literature which will be sent to Outlook readers upon application

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Recommends teachers to colleges, public and private schools. Advises parents about schools. Wm. O. Pratt, Mgr.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

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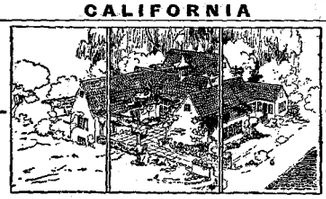

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BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
Fall Term opens September 1st
Intermediate and College Preparatory Departments.
FLORA A. RANDOLPH, Principal
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The Curtis School for Young Boys
Has grown forty-four years and is still under the active direction of its founder.
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A Country School for Girls
FANNY E. DAVIES, LL.A., Principal,
Washington, Conn.
Boston representative,
MABEL E. BOWMAN, A.B., Vice-Principal, Cohasset, Mass.

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Northwestern University
LAW SCHOOL
FOUNDED 1859
JOHN H. WIGMORE, Dean
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Admission: After September 1st, 1919, applicants for admission to the first year class will be required to submit proof of the satisfactory completion of three years of college study.
College credit for army and navy service given by the college from which the student comes will be accepted.
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FOR HOME and SCHOOL SERVICE
Open to graduates of secondary schools. For circular apply to MISS C. M. POWELL, Secretary,
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Young men and young women find here a homelike atmosphere, thorough and efficient training in every department of a broad culture, a loyal and helpful school spirit. Liberal endowment permits liberal terms, $350–$450 per year. Special Course in Domestic Science.
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The Burnham School FOR GIRLS
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Opposite Smith College Campus
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Only small separate college for women in Massachusetts. 4-year course. A. B. degree. Faculty of men and women. 20 buildings. 100 acres. Endowment. Catalog.
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A Country School for Girls. College Preparatory and Academic Courses. MRS. SARAH WOODMAN PAUL, MISS ANNA S. WOODMAN } Principals.

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Cornwall-on-Hudson, N. Y.
THE STORY of this famous school is told in the illustrated catalogue, which will be sent upon application to the Principal.
Largest Military School in the East
CAVALRY, INFANTRY, CADET BAND
(SPECIAL RATES TO MUSICIANS)

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Cornwall-on-Hudson, Box 16, New York
FIFTY-THIRD YEAR
A School in the Heart of the Open Country. For Boys from 9 to 19
Location: 50 miles from New York, 5 miles from West Point, on a spur of Storm King Mountain, 900 feet above sea level. Healthful, invigorating, unusually adapted to a sane and simple out-of-door life.
Work: Preparation for College or Business Life; recent graduates in 12 leading colleges. Each boy studied physically and mentally to increase individual efficiency. Small Classes: A teacher for every 6 boys.
Athletics: Two fields with excellent facilities for all sports, under supervision; hiking, woods life, swimming pool.
You are invited to come and see for yourself. Catalog sent on application
ALVAN E. DUERR, Headmaster

GLENS FALLS ACADEMY
Chester Street, Glens Falls, N. Y.
Day school for Boys and Girls in the Lake George country, located in Glens Falls, N. Y., the beautiful and healthful city of the upper Hudson among the foothills of the Adirondacks. Established eighty years. Prepares for all colleges. Nine in Faculty. Vocational guidance emphasized. Boarding homes in connection with academy. Most desirable place for families to locate to educate children. Address J. THACHER SEARS, Headmaster, A.B. Harvard, Graduate School, Columbia.

PUTNAM HALL
Vassar Preparatory School. Special 2-year course for High School graduates. Music, Art and Domestic Science. Tennis, horseback riding. Military drill under a captain detailed from the Armory. Sleeping porches. Separate house for younger children. Address Ellen C. Bartlett, A.B., Prin., Box 809, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

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